VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VI. (New Series), No. 255. FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1913. Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free, 1½d.)

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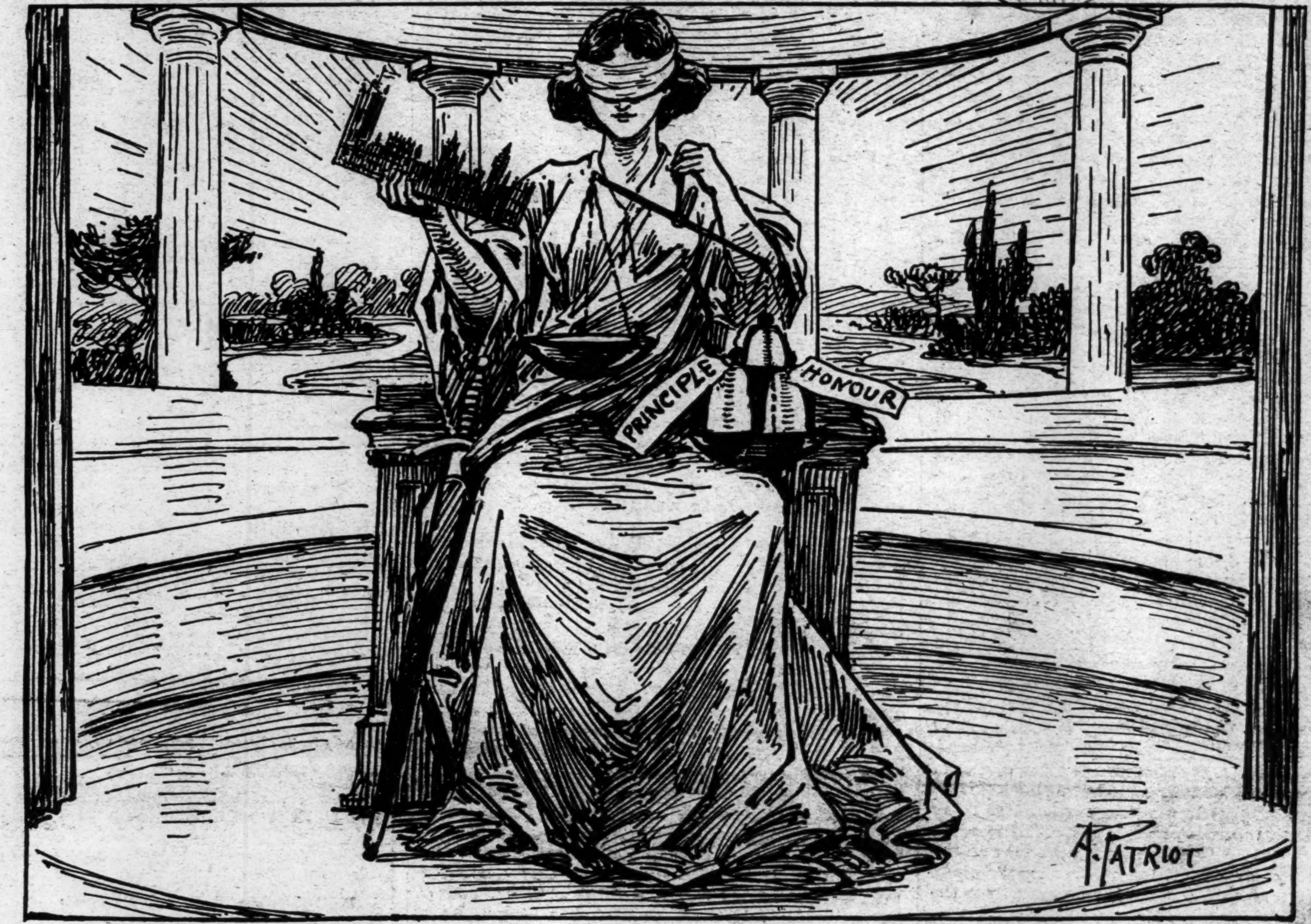

IN THE BALANCE

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

The long-expected debate in the House of Commons upon the woman suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill begins to-day (Friday), and on Monday next at 7.30 the guillotine will fall on the first amendment standing in the name of Sir Edward Grey, which proposes to omit the word "male" from the first effective line of the Bill.

If Sir Edward Grey's Amendment be Lost

Though all the most experienced parliamentary prophets have been busy for some time trying to predict the probable voting on Monday, there are so many unknown factors to be taken into account that no definite conclusion has been arrived at, and it is necessary, therefore, to consider the effect of each alternative which may occur. In the first place, Sir Edward Grey's amendment may be defeated. In that event, all other woman suffrage amendments to the Bill will be ruled out of order, and the Bill will become irrevocably one to increase the male franchise while retaining the present exclusion of women. In view of the fact that a large number of Labour men and Liberals are pledged in such a case to vote against the third reading of the Bill, it is probable that the Bill will be dropped altogether and the Plural Voting Bill will take its place.

If Sir Edward Grey's Amendment be Carried

If, on the other hand, Sir Edward Grey's amendment is carried, this result will be regarded in the House of Commons not in itself as introducing woman suffrage into the Bill but as opening the door for its admission. One or other of the three operative amendments will have also to be carried in order that women may become voters under its provisions. It is evident at the outset that the chance of the passage of each one of these amendments must be less than that for the "permissive" amendment of Sir Edward Grey, for while all supporters of woman suffrage ought to unite on the principle they tend to be divided on the method. The danger in this respect is similar to that which would be met with on the Committee stage of a Bill unless there were the strong cohesive force provided by the Government and its Whips to keep the majority intact.

The Adult Suffrage Amendment

The first of the three operative amendments is to be moved by Mr. Henderson, of the Labour Party; it would confer practical adult suffrage. This is the only amendment which is thoroughly acceptable to the genuine woman suffragist for the simple reason that it is the only one which creates absolute equality between men and women. So long as the qualification for the male franchise remains as at present, woman suffragists would be quite content to obtain the suffrage on these same qualifications even though on practical working that would mean that only one and a quarter million women were enfranchised as compared with about eight million men who are at present on the register. But if the male franchise is to be altered so that practically every man has a vote simply on account of his manhood, then women claim that womanhood must also be a complete qualification. It is generally admitted, however, that Mr. Henderson's amendment has no chance of being accepted by the House of Commons.

The Dickinson Amendment

The next amendment to be considered, which will be voted on on Tuesday next, is the Dickinson amendment, which proposes to confer the vote upon women over twenty-five years of age who are either themselves householders or who are the wives of householders. This amendment does not of itself create sex equality, in particular it makes the objectionable distinction of excluding women under twenty-five while leaving men under twenty-five in the Bill. Nevertheless, it would enfranchise about six million women, and would therefore confer a substantial instalment of justice. It is anticipated that the bulk of Liberal and Labour suffragists will support this proposal, and that they will be followed into the lobby by at least thirty members of the Unionist party headed by Lord Robert Cecil. It is evident, however, that it cannot be carried unless a considerable portion of the Irish Party give it their support. For this reason it was at one time proposed to include in the amendment a proviso that it should not apply to Irish constituencies, but we understand that this proposition has been withdrawn.

The "Conciliation" Amendment

The final amendment which is due to be voted upon on Tuesday evening is known as the "Conciliation" amendment, and would confer the franchise solely on women householders. Thus amended, the Franchise Bill would extend the vote to about three million additional men and one million women. It is commonly supposed that this amendment will secure the support of all the Unionist suffragists, but opinion differs as to how far it can also count upon the votes of members of the Coalition. If all those who voted for the Grey amendment voted also for it (the other amendments having in the meantime been defeated), it would of course be carried unless, as is unlikely, a larger number of members were rallied in opposition.

If all the "Operative" Amendments are Lost

Assuming that Sir Edward Grey's amendment is passed, and that then all the other three amendments are in turn defeated, the House of Commons will have put itself into a very ridiculous position, for it will have first of all declared that women ought to be enfranchised and then will have refused to enfranchise them. This position will not be improved if the intention, stated by the *Times* on Wednesday to be "official," is carried into operation of restoring in such an event the word "male" to the Bill at a later stage of the proceedings. There is reason to suppose that there are enough Liberal and Labour suffragists to compel the withdrawal of the Bill if such a manœuvre were persisted in.

What Women Would Think of It

But what will women think of such proceedings? For suffragist Members of Parliament to unite to pass a pious amendment in favour of the principle of woman suffrage and then conveniently to divide into rival groups so that each particular form of woman suffrage is defeated, may seem in the House of Commons a clever way of keeping pledges in the letter and breaking them in the spirit, but it will seem to women what it actually is, a thoroughly dishonourable device. And they will place the blame not so much on the shoulders of the individual members who are simply the pawns in the game, but upon the Government and upon the principal men in the Government who devised this clever way of tricking them of their due. They will simply recognise that once more the Liberal Government has been "slim" at their expense, and they will be prepared to act accordingly.

The Record of the Liberal Government

The fact is that the record of the Liberal Government with regard to this question is already very shady. Women have not forgotten how Mr. Gladstone, in the eighties of last century, secured the defeat of woman suffrage at that time by inducing his followers to break their pledges to women; nor how for many years after that, Liberal statesmen attempted to evade the issue by refusing to answer any questions on the subject. They have not forgotten the shameless treatment of peaceful deputations of women, nor the scandalous denial of the rights of political prisoners to women imprisoned for the purely technical offence of obstructing the police. Above all, they have not forgotten the way in which the Conciliation Bill was torpedoed by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George.

The Story of the Conciliation Bill

The Conciliation Bill was an attempt, it will be remembered, to save the face of the Government. The vast majority of the Liberal Party, supported by a unanimous Labour Party and by a considerable section of the Irish and the Unionists, were in favour of extending the franchise to women, and had, in fact, pledged themselves to this effect to their constituents. By means of a committee drawn from all parties, a Bill had been devised which commended itself to all. It was proved that it would enfranchise about a million women, and that these would be drawn from the different classes of the community in about the same proportions as the present male electorate, so that their votes would not tend unduly to favour any one political party in the State. As a compromise, the Bill had been accepted by every suffrage society in the country. The Prime Minister had stated that the objections which he felt to the introduction of a Government measure would not apply to a private Member's Bill of the kind, and that full facilities would be provided for it in the session of 1912. Finally, nearly every important Municipal Council throughout the country had petitioned Parliament for its passage into law.

How the Bill was Torpedoed

It was while women were waiting with expectancy for the fulfilment of their hopes, which seemed so bright, that the manœuvre was executed which Mr. Lloyd George himself described as torpedoing the Bill. By the simple expedient of a proposal to reconstitute entirely the basis of the male franchise, the whole fabric of the Conciliation Bill became archaic, and all further interest in that measure ceased. The only thing left was the possibility of securing the enfranchisement of women by means of an amendment to the male Franchise Bill. A large section of woman suffragists declared that all prospect of this was illusory because suffragist M.P.'s would be divided into rival groups, and each form of amendment would be defeated in turn, and that the only satisfactory solution was for the Government itself to become responsible for a woman suffrage measure. The other large section of suffragists, including the Liberal women, decided to give the Liberal Government one more chance of proving their good faith. If, therefore, by any means whatever, woman suffrage be defeated next week, not only will the former section of suffragists be proved correct, but there will be many converts to the doctrine of an anti-Government policy, and at the same time many Liberal women will go on strike. There will also be provided an unprecedented justification for the adoption of militant methods.

What Anti-Suffragists are Saying

In order to try to induce Parliament to refuse to accord the franchise to women, three assertions are being made by anti-suffragists, all of which are so hopelessly without foundation that if they were not being put forward by men of some authority and position they would be relegated to a well-merited obscurity. The first of them is that it is only a mere handful of women who are anxious to obtain the vote, and that the great majority of the sex are against it. Secondly, it is said that an overwhelming proportion of the present male electorate are hostile, and that to attempt to enfranchise women when the question has never been before the country would be an abuse of government. Thirdly, it is said that the most terrible results, including possibly the disruption of the Empire, are likely to follow from extending the vote to women.

Do Women Want the Vote?

The only evidence which anti-suffragists adduce to prove their first contention is a purely *ex-parte* canvas conducted among selected women in certain selected constituencies when certain selected questions were put and answers received either verbally or through the post. A verdict so obtained is evidently wholly unreliable. Against this, suffragists are able to show that the demand for the franchise has been made by overwhelming majorities of practically every organised body of women throughout the country. These include such important bodies as the women doctors, the women nurses, the women headmistresses, the women assistant teachers, the women graduates, the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Women's Liberal Federation, and all the women's suffrage societies; while with the solitary exception of the Anti-Suffrage Society itself, not a single body of women has ever passed a resolution against the extension of the suffrage to women.

Do Men Want Women to Vote?

Equally contrary to the evidence is the suggestion that the male electorate are opposed to the enfranchisement of women. (The argument that the Bow and Bromley election provides a proof is quite absurd, for the election, as is well known, was won by a combination of the Conservative and Liberal parties against Mr. George Lansbury.) The actual fact is that all the indications are in the opposite direction. In 1910 and 1911, 162 local government bodies sent petitions to Parliament to carry the Conciliation Bill. These included nearly all the principal Municipal Councils of the country, among them Birmingham, Cork, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, Sheffield, and York, while the Dublin Corporation sent its Lord Mayor specially to plead at the Bar of the House of Commons in favour of woman suffrage. Not a single County Council, City Council, Town Council, or Urban District Council has been found to pass a resolution urging Parliament *not* to carry woman suffrage.

Has Parliament the Right to Settle it?

It is not true to say that the question of woman suffrage has not been before the electorate. For the past seven years the agitation has been on a scale far greater than that concerning any other question before Parliament. Moreover, previous to the last General Election, Mr. Asquith specifically stated that if his party were returned to power he should hold that that Parliament was empowered to deal effectively with woman suffrage. Following on this statement, an overwhelming majority of M.P.'s known to support woman suffrage were returned to the House of Commons by the electors.

The Fear of Women

The fear that woman enfranchised will bring some dire calamity on the State is one of those absurd bogeys which ignorance or prejudice have conjured up from time to time in the minds of men. It belongs to the days when men regarded women as wild, untamed beings governed by passions wholly different from their own. Now that men have seen women working side by side with themselves, and trained to identical occupations, they have come to realise that the fundamental human qualities which both possess in common will affect the issue more than the sex qualities by which they are differentiated. The vote which women will give at the polls will, it is recognised, be given quite as carefully, and for quite as weighty reasons, as that which is given by men.

Practical Reforms Desired by Women

The reforms which women want to bring about by their votes are reforms which men also desire, but which they have not cared enough about to get by themselves. The waste of child life is a matter which women, who pay the price of life, will turn their special attention to when they get the vote. The evils of sweating, the abominations of the white slave traffic, the adulteration of human food, will continue almost unchecked so long as men only are enfranchised. Improved marriage laws, which will give their sisters and daughters better protection against bad husbands, are not likely to find their way on to the Statute Book until that sex which knows only too well where the shoe pinches has a voice in deciding the legislation of the country.

The White Slave Traffic Bill

Among the gems of masculine logic which were poured out at the anti-suffrage meeting at the Queen's Hall on Monday last was an allusion by Mr. Hobhouse to the White Slave Bill in which he said that the passing of that Bill proved that women were "infinitely more feeble than men." We will put to Mr. Hobhouse this question, Supposing that it was for any purpose a paying trade to entrap and decoy away young men between the ages of fifteen and twenty, does he think that the greater physical strength of the male or any hypothetical greater intelligence would be a sufficient protection? Does he not rather know that measures for the effective suppression of the trade would have been passed through the House of Commons long ago?

Mediæval Methods in Prison

It is almost incredible that the torture practised on Miss Billinghurst in Holloway Gaol, of which we give an account on page 244, should have been authorised by a twentieth century Home Secretary and carried out by members of the medical profession. Our readers will recall that Miss Billinghurst, when sentenced on January 9 to eight months' imprisonment for slightly damaging letters in a pillar-box, announced her intention of rebelling against "this imprisonment given to women instead of the justice they demand." After going without food until Monday, January 13, she was assaulted and held down by several wardresses, and, resisting all the time, was forcibly fed by three doctors. The process, which caused her infinite agony—she is small, frail, and has been a cripple all her life—was repeated three times a day until, to avoid having her death on its hands, the Home Office sent her back to her friends, a physical wreck, last Saturday afternoon. It is time, indeed, that women won the freedom for whose sake they are made to endure such barbarous persecution and torment.

The Working Women's Deputation

A full report of the deputation of working women to Mr. Lloyd George, which is taking place on Thursday morning, after we have gone to press, will be given in our issue next week.

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MR. HYNDMAN'S REMINISCENCES*

Embedded in Mr. Hyndman's very entertaining "Reminiscences" is a chapter on Women's Suffrage. It forms an instructive interlude. Here is a man who, over all other social questions, has been eminently a fighter on the side of progress, suddenly adopting, for the shallowest and flimsiest reasons, the attitude of a mere onlooker. "I have never been able," he writes, "while fully admitting the justice of giving the suffrage to all women if they claim it, to get up much enthusiasm for female suffrage by itself. The suffrage is and can be only a means to an end: it is not an end in itself." No sensible Suffragist claims that it is: no sensible anti-Suffragist would trouble to oppose it if it were. Mr. Hyndman himself does not imagine that its operation can ever be so limited, for he says upon the very same page that equal suffrage upon the present qualification would strengthen class legislation, while the immediate effect of giving the vote to all women along with all men "would certainly be injurious to the Socialist Party." And as it is to the Socialist Party that he belongs, he cannot, so long as these are his opinions, "get up much enthusiasm for female suffrage." There we have it. Whether others can get up much enthusiasm for the Socialist Party if it places party-interest before principle is a point which does not seem to strike him.

In another place Mr. Hyndman tells us that he has always been in favour of "Universal Adult Suffrage," and once he even made a speech advocating it in such terms—by the substitution apparently of the word "manhood"—that a prominent Suffragist attacked him afterwards for omitting all mention of women. Then he expresses great surprise that this educative speech of his, wherein he "spoke of man as a generic name to include both," had failed to satisfy her. "I could not believe she was in earnest. . . . I began to laugh . . . I could not regard it except from the ridiculous side. . . . I offered at last to shake hands with her, but she would not." All very illuminative of one who, while "in favour of Universal Adult Suffrage," believes that it will be injurious to the Socialist Party. No wonder that, for him, the word "manhood" seemed a sufficient substitute, and the separate mention of women, or women's needs, superfluous.

With a similar inequality of vision he discusses the ethics of "militancy." In the case of the women it is a "vagary"; "sabotage" and "downright Anarchism get the upper hand" of the movement; and women who are otherwise "sane, sensible, and admirable," are carried away to "self-imposed martyrdom" in "a tornado of hysterical futility." Mr. Hyndman even compares the conditional and almost accidental state of unenfranchisement in which some men still remain with the absolute and statutory disfranchisement which lies on women; and upon this premise makes the quite foolish remark, "What their view would have been if the two or three millions of men still unenfranchised had resorted to similar methods of enforcing their claims it is difficult to say. But I doubt if it would have met with the same tolerance."

When, however, men who already possess the vote prefer starvation to "militancy" while on strike, Mr. Hyndman wishes that they "would bring the whole thing to an end by blowing up a lot of the bridges"; and states it as his belief that the smug Radical bourgeois regards the destruction of private property as a much more heinous offence than even the sacrifice of human life, ". . . an assault upon the very Ark of the profit-monger's Covenant, a criminal attack upon the Holy of Holies of the capitalist creed." That spirit of rebellion which he desires to see in the man becomes a "tornado of hysterical futility" when it is manifested in women.

We have already seen how the author damps down his enthusiasm for the women's movement by objecting to immediate concentration on the vote as its first object; but when he turns to the case of the male worker he no longer remains thus intentionally blind. "Only by a combination of political and industrial action," he writes, "can the wage-earning class hope to gain anything by peaceful means": again and again he insists on political power as a necessary means to the uplifting of industry. Yet when women, turning from their hampered endeavours in other directions, are striving on behalf of their sweated and prostituted sisters to secure just the beginnings of this necessary political power, Mr. Hyndman can only express regret at what he regards as a most unfortunate misdirection of energy. And all this merely shows that he has never troubled to study the movement and its meaning from within.

One could gather from his book many an admirable passage having immediate reference to the male labour-market only, but with a closer application to the whole women's question than he has taken the trouble to perceive. Here, for instance, are two. The first refers to the Dock strike of 1889: "The organised Trade Unions not recognising that the uplifting of the unskilled labourers must benefit them, rendered little or no assistance." The second has reference to the strike of the Gasworkers a few years later, and what peril it is for any section of labour to ignore the economic condition of those who are in worse plight: "Here are agricultural labourers half-starved on 12s. to 15s. a week. They learn that unskilled men are out on strike who are earning 32s. a week. To the countryman this weekly earning means luxurious living. Up they come to take the places left vacant in consequence of the strike or lock-out. Is it reasonable to ask them to go on working at the paltry wage of 12s. when they can nearly treble it by 'black-legging,' especially when it is quite certain the gas-workers will never trouble themselves about raising the wages of agricultural labourers."

With what added force does not this apply to the unskilled labour of women, and the wages paid for it; and how is it likely that women will ever cease to be blacklegs in the market unless their fellow-labourers regard them and treat them as equals? In the case of sub-divided male-labour Mr. Hyndman sees the problem clearly enough, and sees also the political remedy; yet he is not troubling himself to advance that political remedy in the case of women, simply because he does not understand the women's movement. In proof of this we need only quote one sentence; on page 301 he labels his blindness with the following amazing statement: "They carefully leave not only the economic but the sexual sacrifice of their sisters entirely on one side. In their eagerness for political equality for the educated and well-to-do of their sex they disregard the economic and social disabilities to which alike the majority of women, the working wage-earners, and the minority of women, those of so-called loose life, are subjected."

Was ever a contradiction of fact more succinctly set forth? Immediately following is a statement with which all Suffragists will heartily agree: "Yet this last is a degradation which can only be effectively removed by the efforts of women." Yes, Mr. Hyndman, Women Suffragists are quite aware of that; and it is one of the things which account for militancy.

L. H.

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* "Further Reminiscences." By Henry Mayors Hyndman. (Macmillan and Co., London. 1912. 15s.)

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Business of Being a Woman." By Ida M. Tarbell. (London: Macmillan. Price 5s. 6d. net.)

"Englishwoman's Year Book and Directory, 1913." (London: A. and C. Black. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"The Poodle Woman." By Annesley Kenealy. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 6s.)

"The Fool in Christ." Gerhart Hauptmann. (London: Methuen. Price 6s.)

"A Flapper at School." By Lilian Fairbrother Ramsey. (Letchworth: Garden City Press. Price 1s. net.)

"Free Speech for Radicals." By Theodore Schroeder. (New York: Free Speech League. Price 25 cents.)

"The Insurance Magazine." January. (London: Charles Knight & Co., Ltd. Price 3d.)

"Woman at Home." February. (London: Geo. Newnes, Ltd. Price 6d. net.)

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THE FRANCHISE BILL

Justice or Manhood Suffrage?

"That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."—Abraham Lincoln, in 1863.

We give on this page the actual text of the clauses and schedule in the Government's Franchise Bill that especially affect the possibility of women's inclusion in the Bill. As drafted, it will be seen to exclude women altogether from the Parliamentary register (Clause 1), and to include them in the Local Government register only on the very narrowest interpretation of the present register that can be given to it by the revising barrister (Clause 2, and First Schedule). We give also the principal amendments proposed by which, if one of them were to pass, women could be included in the Bill as Parliamentary voters.

The Amendments

Of the four amendments proposed, the first (A), generally known as "the Grey amendment," is a permissive one, to remove the word "male" from the Bill and pave the way for amendments (B), (C), and (D), which, if the first is carried, will then be taken in order. It was originally stated that Sir Edward Grey would move this amendment, which will be taken on Friday, but it appears now that he will take part in the discussion on it next Monday, after the Prime Minister has spoken, and that it will be moved by Mr. Alfred Lyttleton, who will be followed by Mr. Harcourt. A day has been set apart for its discussion which will occupy Friday afternoon and half of Monday's sitting; and the guillotine will fall at 7.30 on Monday, January 27. If it is not carried, the House will probably adjourn till Tuesday; if it is carried, the adult suffrage amendment (B) will be proposed, probably by Mr. Henderson, and discussed until 10.30 on Monday evening, when the division will be taken. If this fails to pass, Tuesday's sitting will open with the moving of what is usually known as the "Dickinson amendment" (C), on which the House will divide at 7.30 on the same day; and, failing the success also of this one, the so-called "Conciliation amendment" (D) will then be taken and divided on at 10.30 p.m. So the women's fate will be decided by 10.30 on Tuesday night, if not at 7.30 on Monday night.

Chances of the Amendments

Throughout the week discussion has raged in the Lobby, in the Press, in every place where two or three Suffragists—or anti-Suffragists—could be found gathered together, as to the chances of these amendments. Every day opinion changes, but it seems to be universally acknowledged that (1) The Irish party could settle the question favourably if it chose—and probably won't choose; (2) the majority on the "Grey amendment" will be an exceedingly narrow one, whichever way the voting goes; (3) that if this passes, there is very little chance of a majority being found for any one of the three remaining amendments. There is also a rumour which, as we go to press, has not been contradicted, that an attempt has been made to induce the Welsh members to vote against the amendment (A) to save embarrassing the Government. The Parliamentary Correspondent of the *Times*, commenting on "The Chaos in the Commons," agrees that its defeat would on the whole cause the Government least embarrassment. A very strong leading article in the *Christian Commonwealth* admits and condemns the intrigues against the women's amendments in the House of Commons.

The Grey Amendment

Speculation on the chances of the amendment to delete the word "male" varies greatly. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, last Tuesday, predicted a majority against it of 17; but a change came over the Press on Wednesday morning, when even the *Times* thought it might pass by a narrow majority, while P. W. W. in the *Daily News* anticipated a favourable majority of possibly 50, and the *Manchester Guardian* and *Daily Chronicle* one of 19 and 13 respectively. Probably a larger majority was anticipated owing to the statement issued on Tuesday night to the effect that if no subsequent amendment were carried, Liberal and Conservative Suffragist M.P.'s would agree to re-insert the word "male" in the Report stage. As the *Standard* points out, this means that Liberal Suffragists may "save their face" by voting for the Grey amendment, but that "according as this proposal has a better chance, so, it is recognised. are the subsequent enfranchising amendments less likely to be accepted." The adult suffrage amendment, it is generally believed, has no prospect of success; of the remaining two, the one embodying the principle of the Conciliation Bill, to enfranchise municipal women voters, is said on the whole to have the more support in the House, since it is backed by the Unionist Suffragists, though thirty Unionists are also said to be backing the "Dickinson amendment" (to give votes to women householders and the wives of householders), among whom Mr. Balfour is now said to be included.

The Irish and the Dickinson Amendment

An attempt to placate the Nationalist M.P.'s has caused some confusion to arise over the third amendment. Representations having been made to Mr. Dickinson on Thursday in last week that the exclusion of Ireland from the operation of his amendment would probably propitiate the Irish party, he put down a revised version of it to this effect, which appeared in Friday's Parliamentary papers. It became apparent, however, that Unionist support might be lost, if Irish support were won, by this change, and Mr. Dickinson accordingly put down his amendment again in its original form, and as an amendment to it the proposal to exclude Ireland. The *Manchester Guardian*, in a leading article, appears to favour this proposal, but there are indications that English Suffragists would view the exclusion of Ireland as a breach of loyalty to their Irish comrades, while the views of Irish Suffragists are strongly expressed in a letter we print below from Mrs. Sheehy-Skeffington.

A new complexion was put upon the matter in Wednesday morning's papers, when P. W. W., in the *Daily News*, among other Parliamentary correspondents, countenanced the statement that the Franchise Bill will not in any case apply to Ireland, as, under the Parliament Act, the Home Rule Bill will become law two months earlier.

Universal Interest

Meanwhile, the interest aroused by the prospect of the struggle for women's freedom, which will occupy the next few days, can be rightly called universal. Messages from Suffragists in every country which has been reached by the movement, appear daily in the Press. The streets are placarded with the newsbills of morning and evening papers announcing some new phase in the crisis. One paper heads its suffrage page with "The Women's Fight for the Vote" (a familiar title to the readers of the book of that name), another with "The Women's Week." The Prime Minister's attitude towards the whole question is the subject of daily comment in the Press. The *Daily Mail* (a recent convert, by the way, to a limited measure of Woman Suffrage) talks of his "Crab-like approach" to a solution of the matter; the *Standard* sees him "revealed as a sort of political Puck, stage-managing a Midwinter Night's Dream"; the *Pall Mall Gazette* thinks it "nothing short of scandalous" that he should "meet a proposal of this serious nature by the easy device of 'Leave it to your partner.'" The *Daily Graphic* discourses of "A piquant situation," and the *Globe*, by a curious "Anti" contortion, begins a leading article by admitting the injustice done to women householders by excluding them from the franchise, and ends with the illuminating sentence—"To defeat that (i.e., the Grey) amendment is the first duty of every lover of the Constitution."

The Special Commissioner to the *Daily Herald* continues his daily exposure of the plots and intrigues that cloud the prospects within the House of the Suffrage amendments. With regard to the Irish members, he quotes a correspondent "from within the Nationalists' own ranks," as stating—"They say that Mr. Redmond, at a word, could completely change the situation, but they have been given to understand that he cannot get from the Cabinet such a reassurance as would cause him to speak that word." Such a statement from the Prime Minister (to the effect that he will not resign office in the event of Woman Suffrage being embodied in the Bill) would, adds the Commissioner, "cut the ground from under Mr. Redmond's feet"; but it is not forthcoming.

Anticipations of Revolt

There are not wanting many signs that, as the *Daily Chronicle* pointed out last Wednesday, the final exclusion of women from the Bill would mean greater disaster for the Liberal Party than their inclusion, involving the possible resignation of Mr. Asquith. We give some indications of impending revolt in the action of the Liberal Women's Federation, in the strong attitude taken by the new Federated Council of Suffrage Societies (page 245), and it is anticipated on all sides that militancy is bound to follow this latest denial of justice to women, and that it will include many recruits from among non-militant Suffragists who have at last lost patience.

Suffrage Activity

Crowded meetings everywhere testify to the activity of Suffragists. An open-air demonstration in Trafalgar Square last Saturday, a daily poster parade in Parliament Square, the arrival in London of working women delegates—these are only a few of the signs of the times. Members of Parliament are being memorialised in all directions; eminent men and women, and organised bodies of professional women, circularise the leading papers with demands for a settlement of the question. We give below a selection from these utterances, and particulars of the working women's deputation to Mr. Lloyd George, on page 244. As the *Daily News* said, in commenting on the Anti-Suffrage meeting in the Queen's Hall last Monday:—"Those who oppose Woman Suffrage must appear even to themselves to be fighting for a lost cause."

"The nation," said the *Pall Mall Gazette* on Wednesday evening, "has suddenly awakened to the imminence of a crisis, the most extraordinary of its kind in the memory of politicians."

TEXT OF THE BILL

The following is the text of the principal clauses and schedule in the Bill so far as they are likely to affect the question of the women's vote:—

1. (1) Subject to the provisions of this Act, every male person shall be entitled to be registered as a parliamentary elector for a constituency, if that person is qualified in accordance with this Act to be registered in that constituency, and while so registered shall be entitled to vote at an election of a member to serve in Parliament for that constituency; but a person shall not be registered or vote for more than one constituency.

(2) For the purposes of this Act a person shall be qualified to be registered in a constituency, as a parliamentary elector if that person resides, or is an occupier of land or premises, in that constituency, and has so resided, or been an occupier, for a continuous period of at least six months last past, or during such a period has so resided for part of the period, and so been an occupier for the remainder of the period.

2. Subject to the provisions of this Act, and especially to the provisions and limitations set out in the First Schedule:—

(1) Every person who is an occupier of land or premises in a local government electoral area otherwise than as a lodger and has so been an occupier for a continuous period of at least six months last past shall be entitled to be registered and, if registered, to vote as a local government elector for the purpose of all local government elections for that area; and

(2) Every person who is an owner of any land or premises in a local government area, or is an occupier of any premises in a local government electoral area as a lodger, and has so been an owner or occupier for a continuous period of at least six months last past, shall be entitled to be registered and, if registered, to vote as a local government elector for the purpose of all local government elections for that area except a county council (other than a London County Council) election in England, and a municipal borough council (not including a metropolitan borough council) election in England.

FIRST SCHEDULE

Local Government Electors.—Provisions and Limitations.

1. A person shall not be entitled to be registered or vote as a local government elector for the purposes of the election of a borough councillor or a county councillor in more than one ward of the same borough or more than one electoral division of the same county.

2. In England a woman shall not be entitled to be registered as a local government elector or to vote at a local government election by virtue of the ownership of land or premises or by virtue of the occupation of premises as a lodger.

3. A woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered or voting as a local government elector: Provided that—

(*a*) In England a married woman shall not be registered as a local government elector or vote as a local government elector for the purpose of a county council election (other than a London County Council election) or for the purpose of a municipal borough council election (not including a metropolitan borough council election); and

(*b*) A husband and wife shall not both be entitled to be registered or vote in respect of the same property.

PRINCIPAL AMENDMENTS PROPOSED.

(*A*) Clause 1, line 1, leave out "male."

(*Proposed by Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, Mr. Henderson, Mr. Henry M'Laren, Mr. Dickinson, Lord Robert Cecil.*)

(Assuming this is carried the following amendments will be proposed in order:—)

(*B*) Clause 1, line 1, after "person" insert "of either sex."

(*Proposed by Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. Snowden, Mr. James Thomas.*)

(*C*) Clause 1, line 5, after "a" insert "female person shall be qualified to be registered in a constituency as a parliamentary elector if she is over twenty-five years of age and is the inhabitant occupier, as owner or tenant, or the wife of such an inhabitant occupier, of a dwelling house in that constituency and has resided therein for a period of at least six months last past provided that, except as herein enacted, no women shall be registered as joint occupiers in respect of the same dwelling; and a male."

(Proposed by Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Acland, Sir John Rolleston, Mr. Goulding, Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. Glyn-Jones).

(*D*) Clause 1, line 5, after "person" insert—

(a) being a female, shall be qualified to be registered in a constituency as a parliamentary elector if she is a local government elector for the purpose of all local government elections in that constituency; and

(b) being a male.

(Proposed by Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, Mr. Goldman, Mr. Murray Macdonald, Mr. Bentham).

[There are also amendments put down affecting the women's municipal vote.]

Under the heading "Suffrage Struggle," the same paper proceeded at some length to discuss "the hazards and passions of the Great Dilemma," coming to the conclusion that "Cynical politicians maintain, however, that Ministers will adhere to a fundamental rule of place at any price; that there will be no resignations; that there will be no dissolution; that all these suggestions are part of the game, only meant to influence various sections of wavering M.P.'s; and that, in spite of all—the threats to Mr. Asquith, or the mingled warnings and entreaties to Mr. Redmond, or the large number of members of the House of Commons, nominally pledged to female franchise in some shape—the Suffragist women will somehow be dished."

SIR EDWARD GREY

Rumoured Resignation

The *Daily Mail* made the following statement "on high authority" last Wednesday:—

"If the suffrage amendment is defeated and Sir Edward Grey feels that the decision has not been arrived at on the pure merits of the case and without consideration of any possible danger to the Government, he will feel compelled to vote against the Bill on the third reading and will resign. It was on the understanding that no consideration except that of the suffrage should be allowed to enter into the division that Sir Edward agreed to the course adopted by the Cabinet on this question, and Mr. Asquith will probably make it plain this week that that is the attitude adopted by the Cabinet."

LIBERAL WOMEN

With regard to the forthcoming meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation on January 28, it is stated that a strong resolution will be moved in the event of the failure of the Suffrage amendments, to the effect that the members shall abstain from further election work for the party until women's enfranchisement has become law. This will be opposed by many of the leading members, but of late the extreme section has grown in numbers, and if their resolution were defeated it is believed that there would be considerable secessions from the federation, and in some cases the winding up of whole local associations.

A letter, signed by Lady Bamford-Slack, Mrs. M. L. Reid, and Mrs. Eva McLaren, has been sent on behalf of the Women's Liberal Federation to all the Irish Nationalist M.P.'s, in which it states that by voting for the women's amendments they will strengthen the chances of Home Rule, and continues thus:—

"On the other hand, defeat of women's suffrage, especially if that defeat were attributable to withdrawal of former support by the Nationalist suffragists, would cause widespread resentment amongst Liberal women. Defeat, so far from ridding the Government of the embarrassment of the women's suffrage question, would only aggravate their difficulties. The feeling on the franchise question is intensifying day by day in the ranks of the Liberal women, and it is to be feared that if their hopes are now crushed grave results may follow. We believe that the Irish party, which holds the balance in the coming parliamentary struggle, will make an irretrievable tactical mistake if they bring about the defeat of this just cause."

Mrs. Isabella Petrie Mills, for twenty years President of a Women's Liberal Association, made an appeal to Mr. Redmond through the Press last Wednesday, urging him "in the names of the 40,000 Englishwomen from whom I, with Miss Jane Cobden (Mrs. Fisher Unwin), Lady Schwann, and others, had the honour to take in 1887 a message of sympathy to Ireland, to give his followers perfect freedom of action when voting on any Suffrage amendment to the Franchise Bill."

RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions insisting that the Government Reform Bill "before it reaches its third reading, must be amended to include votes for women on the same terms as men," have been passed by several branches of the I.L.P., including those at Brixton, Croydon, and Glasgow.

At the annual meeting of the Walsall Trades Council, a resolution was passed calling for the extension of the franchise to all adult males and females in accordance with the resolutions passed from time to time by the Trades Union Congress.

MR. LANSBURY AND THE IRISH PARTY

Mr. Lansbury, speaking at the Woman Suffrage demonstration held in Trafalgar Square last Saturday, said that when the amendments to the Franchise Bill came to be discussed it would be found that those who had to settle the question were the eighty members of the Irish Party, and they would settle it according to how far, in their judgment, it helped or hindered the Home Rule movement. It would be very much better tactics for the Irish Whips to help the women rather than to stop them from getting the vote. How could any Irishman or any man who had assisted Irishmen to undisguised revolt against British rule preach with any sort of consistency the denying of the right to women to manage their affairs in their own way just as Irishmen claimed the right to manage theirs? The Irish Party occupied a position which was unique in the history of English politics. They were able to make or mar at most any legislative proposal that came before the House of Commons. He deprecated the fact that great measures should be settled in this way, but there was no use in blinking the fact.

Mr. Lansbury also sent a long open letter to Mr. Redmond, in which he says that the Irish Nationalists have now a golden opportunity of repaying their debt to the women who have worked for Home Rule. He suggests that to decide the question of woman suffrage, not on its merits, but on how it will affect Home Rule, is a low standard by which to judge an important question. For Mr. Redmond and his colleagues to object to militant tactics would be sheer hypocrisy. In conclusion, Mr. Lansbury urges Mr. Redmond and his party to set aside "expediency" and disregard the arguments of time-servers.

AN IRISH WOMAN'S PROTEST

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—This morning's papers inform us that it is proposed, as a "tactful concession" to Mr. Redmond's anti-woman prejudice, to omit Irishwomen from the Woman Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill—that is to say, to enfranchise English, Scottish, and Welsh women, while leaving Irishwomen still in political serfdom. No comment on this proposal is necessary beyond quoting some extracts from the debate on the Snowden Amendment to the Home Rule Bill on November 5.

On that occasion Mr. Birrell said (Hansard, p. 1,074): "They will have, in a few weeks' time, the opportunity to which I have referred of settling what the electoral roll is to be of the Imperial Parliament, and under the provisions of Clause 9, whatever decision we come to on that matter automatically and at once becomes the governing decision of the electoral roll of the Irish Parliament. Therefore, when we settle this question in a few weeks' time, we shall be settling it with the full knowledge that when the Home Rule Bill passes anything we introduce by way of extending the suffrage to women will be the prerogative of Irishwomen, just as much as of those who are in England, Scotland, or Wales."

Mr. William Redmond said (p. 1,083): "If the Franchise Bill is so amended as to extend the franchise to women, it will operate in Ireland, as in Scotland, Wales, and England."

Mr. John Redmond said (p. 1,094): "If it comes up on the Franchise Bill and the Woman Suffrage Amendment is carried, then, as the Chief Secretary pointed out, it automatically becomes part of the Irish Constitution." And, again (p. 1,095): "My position in a word is this—If the Woman Franchise Amendment is carried in the Franchise Bill automatically it applies to Ireland."

Mr. Asquith said (p. 1,116): "It is quite true, as the hon. and learned member for Waterford pointed out, that if subsequently we alter the suffrage as regards the United Kingdom that alteration would automatically, under the provisions of this Bill, apply to the Irish Legislature."

These were the pledges by which the Government and the Irish Party prevailed on a sufficient number of Liberal and Labour Suffragists to help them to defeat the Snowden Amendment—by promising that Irishwomen could be enfranchised in a few weeks' time if the women of Great Britain were then to be enfranchised. Irishwomen will not tolerate any breach of these pledges.—Yours faithfully,

HANNA SHEEHY-SKEFFINGTON,

Chairman of Committee, Irish Women's Franchise League, Dublin, January 18, 1913.

MEMORIALS

Medical Women

A strong letter from the Association of Registered Medical Women appeared in the Press last Tuesday, in which attention is drawn "to the anomaly of extending the franchise to men of all classes, while leaving wholly unrepresented women who have shown themselves equal to participating in the duties of citizenship by working in the same field with men, and entrusted with the same duties and responsibilities, both legal and social. We would draw attention to the fact that in the United Kingdom, medical women are employed by the State in connection with prisons, schools, public health, and the Post Office. . . We urge that a Bill which proposes to enfranchise all adult men and no women cannot be deemed a just extension of representative government."

The letter was signed by the following, among other members of the Executive Committee: Dr. Constance Long (President), Dr. Mary Murdoch, and Dr. May Dickenson Berry (Vice-Presidents), Dr. Aldrich-Blake, Dr. Helen Chambers, Dr. Margaret Fraser, Dr. Agnes Savill, Dr. Helen Webb.

Unionist Women

An appeal to Unionist M.P.'s has also been signed by prominent members of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, which concludes by saying "We feel that this is a time for all moderate suffragists to unite their forces."

Men's League

A memorial has been sent by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage to suffragist members of the House of Commons, urging upon them, since the passage of a Reform Bill without the inclusion of women would be "a misprint in the history of our civilization," the necessity of "concerted action to secure, by way of amendment, some measure of enfranchisement for women, and call upon them, if their united efforts should fall short of success, to do their utmost to bring about the withdrawal of a Bill which must aggravate the present injustice should it fail to bring redress."

The memorial is signed by, among others, Lord Lytton, Lord Russell, the Bishop of Lincoln, Bishop Hamilton Baynes, Sir Edward Busk, Sir William Chance, Colonel Sir Edward Cotton-Jodrell, Sir Norman Lockyer, Sir A. W. Pinero, Sir John Rhys, Sir Owen Roberts, Sir W. J. Smyly, Sir William Hood Treacher, Major-General Sir A J. Turner, Canon A. T. Bannister, Professor J. F. Bethune-Baker, D.D., Canon Charles W. Bond, Professor Ronald M. Burrows, Professor J. B Bury, Professor A. Caldecott, the Rev. Professor J. Estlin Carpenter, General E. F. Chapman, Professor S. J. Chapman, Professor Grenville A. J. Cole, Professor R. S. Conway, the Rev. Percy Dearmer, Canon W. D. V. Duncombe, the Dean of Worcester.

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS

It is becoming more and more clear that the fate of the Woman Suffrage question, which will come to a head in Parliament during this week and the next, will be decided not by the views of members upon its merits, but by political motives and considerations of a much wider kind.—**The Times, Jan. 21.**

It is not too much to say that the fate of the suffragist amendments will be decided, so far as Coalition votes are concerned, more by considerations connected with Mr. Asquith's personal position than by the merits of the amendments themselves.—**Standard (Lobby Correspondent), Jan. 20.**

Liberals are feeling very acutely the dilemma in which they are placed. . . . The great majority of the party are pledge-bound to the suffrage, and at the present moment their chief preoccupation is to devise a means whereby they can run away from their obligations. They have indulged during the last few days in a series of manœuvres which are by no means creditable, and it now appears as if they have resigned themselves by some exercise of sophistry to a process of affirming the desirability of woman suffrage and refusing to give any practical effect to it.—**Standard, Jan. 22.**

Liberal anti-suffragists number about eighty, and if only fifty of these voted against the third reading of the Bill the Government would be shaken to its base. . . . Altogether it is a very baffling situation. The woman peril is the most menacing danger that confronts a strong Government that stands triumphant over all its enemies.—**Daily Chronicle, Jan. 21.**

In face of these perilous possibilities some of the most fervid of its champions are beginning to regret that women's enfranchisement will not come before the House in a separate Bill, which would be considered on its merits, and without all these complications.—**Daily Chronicle, Jan. 22.**

There must be no threats that this Minister will resign if an amendment is carried, or another Minister resign if it is not carried. Every member must be free to give his own vote as his conscience directs, and he must be left to weigh the consequences. . . . The women have no right to complain of straightforward opposition, of which they have been warned in advance, on the part of individual members of the Government, but they would have a right to complain if, after the pledges that have been given to them, there were any reasonable ground for suspecting that Ministerial pressure had been applied against them. — **Westminster Gazette, Jan. 21.**

Every great political struggle, we suppose, has its inner history of subterfuge, shift, and trickery, but the long-drawn-out battle for women's rights has revealed alike the heights of human nobility and the depths of human meanness to an extent unparalleled in the history of other great causes. . . . But nothing that can happen now will save the Government and its followers from the storm of indignation and protest that will burst over them if all the amendments are defeated. We are using no threats, but are simply stating the bare fact when we assert that the responsibility for whatever disorder and violence may occur if our worst fears are realised will rest upon the House of Commons. Militant and non-militant, constitutionalist and outlaw, are faced by only one alternative if a measure of political enfranchisement is denied them now. —**Christian Commonwealth.**

There is, of course, another alternative: that of dropping the entire Franchise Bill. . . . That, no doubt, would leave the Government under a cloud of failure. But whatever happens, they cannot escape without discredit and humiliation. It is the Nemesis they have richly earned by their refusal to face the demand for women's votes with courage and conviction.—**Evening Standard, Jan. 20.**

The House of Commons will deserve the contempt of the constituencies should it decide to delete the word "male" from the Bill and then refuse to say what kind of female shall have a vote.—**Morning Post, Jan. 21.**

We believe that the majority of the present House of Commons have given such pledges as ought to lead to the adoption of this proposal. We trust that they will go straight in the matter, giving conclusive proof to women that they are in earnest, and remembering that to deny what they have avowed to be a just claim will be to stimulate foolish and criminal methods of agitation instead of to suppress them.—**Methodist Times.**

If women are not included in the Bill, it is not, I think, denied that some serious problems will have to be faced by the Government. . . . Grave militancy is taken for granted—the truce, of course, would end—and stringent coercive measures could hardly be avoided. . . . Deep as is the sincerity of the anti-suffrage group on the Liberal side, they do not, I think, claim that the defeat of the amendments, by a narrow majority, will bring even the briefest spell of tranquillity to the Government and Parliament. The prospect, as all parties are fully aware, would be quite otherwise, nor must I be taken here to refer either solely or even chiefly to militancy. Non-militant strategy, backed by ample resources, should not be left entirely out of account.—**P. W. W. in the Daily News.**

There might be a little tactical gain for Home Rule in one corner of the political field from the defeat of Women's Suffrage now, or a little tactical loss in another corner from its enactment; but one of the differences between a statesman and a politician is that a statesman will nearly always knock 50 per cent. off a politician's estimates of gain from any piece of action purely tactical, and another 50 per cent. off his estimates of loss from any action that is boldly generous. To support Women's Suffrage now would apparently be thought by the Irish Nationalist party, as a party, a boldly generous, perhaps a riskily generous, thing to do. This is exactly what Gladstone's adoption of Home Rule was thought by his party. Being a statesman and not a politician only, Gladstone went straight on, and because he did so Home Rule stands where it does to-day. Mr. Redmond has now his chance of playing Gladstone's part. . . .—**Manchester Guardian, Jan. 21.**

Opinion in the House of Commons is evenly divided as to the probable result. . . . . Should the Grey Amendment be carried and the three consequential ones negatived, a quaint quandary would present itself. Deletion of the word "male" from definition of the qualification of a Parliamentary voter would not of itself give woman the vote. But it would suffice to induce the female suffragists, not habitually diffident, to claim it. As their names would not be found on the register they could not be admitted to the privilege of the franchise. Whence it will appear that, assuming the Grey Amendment to be carried, there will be turmoil in the coming year.—**Sir Henry Lucy in "The Observer."**

To scatter votes broadcast on the crude basis of a sex qualification is not democracy but demagogy.—**Daily Express.**

The Women's Suffrage amendments will be discussed, and the eyes, not only of the people of this country, but of the whole civilized world, are watching to see how the British House of Commons treats these amendments.—**Reynolds' Newspaper.**

Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

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FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1913.

THE LIBERAL CRISIS

By universal consent the debate and division on the woman suffrage amendments to the Franchise Bill will be the most momentous event of the present session. Already, as the day draws near, the greatest interest is being manifested in it by the House of Commons, and when the guillotine falls at the appointed hours on the various amendments the excitement will be intense. This exceptional interest arises not only from the intrinsic importance which woman suffrage has assumed in the eyes of the average Member of Parliament, great though that has undoubtedly become in the course of the last few years, but in addition from certain extraneous considerations closely bound up with it. To begin with, M.P.'s are being called upon for the first time for many years to make up their own minds, untrammelled by party Whips, on a first-rate issue. This unaccustomed task is exercising their intelligence to the full, particularly as many of them are torn in opposing directions by personal inclination, pledges given at election time, loyalty to individual leaders, and considerations of party exigency.

Then, again, the final result, upon which great issues may depend, is considered to be gravely in doubt. The highest parliamentary authorities are refusing to make any positive prediction. There is no precedent for such uncertainty since the days when the introduction of Mr. Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill exhibited a "cave" of unexpected dimensions within the Liberal camp.

But the most serious feature of all is the knowledge that the future of both the great historic parties depends in all probability on the way in which they meet this crisis.

With the position of the Unionist party we do not propose to deal, except to point out that obstruction offered to the enfranchisement of women to-day will serve them in bad stead in the not far distant future when they are appealing for the support of the women's votes at the polls.

Our special attention is directed to the Liberal Party and to those other Parties who share with it to-day the honour and responsibility of power. Various rumours have been current in the House of Commons to the effect that the Irish Party and other sections and individual members of the Coalition are contemplating giving an adverse vote on the woman suffrage amendments in consequence of a fear that their passage would disintegrate the Ministry and bring about the fall of the Government. This "Liberal Crisis" can be averted, it is suggested, only by the defeat of the amendments, which will leave the Government free from the embarrassment of having to stand over the principle of woman suffrage embodied in their Franchise Bill.

Those who preach this doctrine to Liberals and their allies are giving very perilous advice. Inconvenient as it may be to the Liberal Party at the present juncture to have the woman suffrage amendments carried, the consequences of the opposite result would be far more serious. A temporary difficulty which courage would have surmounted will have been replaced by a permanent source of internal disruption and decay.

What is it in fact that is being recommended to the Liberal Party? Nothing less than a total abnegation of principle, for no genuine Liberal can deny the doctrine of government by the consent of the governed, nor, in the teeth of the combined demand for enfranchisement by every organised body of women throughout the country, can he maintain that women are consenting parties to their exclusion from representation.

We are well aware that opportunist politicians are wont to be somewhat contemptuous of an appeal to first principles. The old ship, riddled with holes as we may know it to be, will last their time, they say; clever manœuvring has got them out of difficulties before and will do so again. However much we may despise and denounce such doctrines as immoral, it is of no use shutting our eyes to the fact that they are very widely held and that there is from a superficial point of view a considerable measure of worldly wisdom in them; for while the mills of God do in the end grind exceeding small, yet the process is of a truth very slow, and to the weary watcher it may seem almost interminable. If, therefore, our statement that the course recommended by the anti-suffragists would destroy the Liberal Party rested solely upon the fact that it involved a breach of fundamental principle, we should realise that our words would be of no avail, for though with eyes of faith we might see the fulfilment of our prophecy, we should know that it was not likely to be brought about in the immediate future or even, perhaps, in the span of our own lives.

But the actual facts of the situation are very different. It was not through benevolence or indifference that Mr. Asquith, the pronounced anti-suffragist, came to make the pledges which are to fructify next week. It was owing to the pressure of certain forces—the pressure of public opinion expressed by the constituencies through the resolutions sent up from nearly every Municipal Council in favour of the Conciliation Bill, the pressure of political revolt expressed by the growing discontent of the members of Women's Liberal Associations, the pressure of militancy wielded with relentless determination by the suffragettes. These forces are not extinct to-day; on the contrary, they are all ready to be kindled into a flame far fiercer than ever before. If by a breach of Mr. Asquith's pledge the Liberal Party is cajoled into being false to its principles, these forces will at once become active, and, in consequence, the Party will find itself simultaneously attacked on all sides from without while it is torn by dissensions from within. Nothing but an immediate determination, whatever it may cost, to identify itself with the principle of woman suffrage can then save it from speedy disruption and defeat.

A PARLIAMENTARY REPENTANCE—JAN. 27, 1891

By Joseph Clayton

Slow is the House of Commons to do justice, and only on rare occasions are its members moved to acknowledge that they, being human, with the common prejudices and frailties of mankind, have erred.

January 27, 1891, was one of these occasions, for on that day, just twenty-two years ago, the House of Commons solemnly agreed, no one dissenting, that the resolutions it had passed excluding Charles Bradlaugh from the House should be formally expunged from the official journals of Parliament.

Exclude a man from Parliament because of his opinions! How monstrously absurd it seems to-day. Incredible that such a thing should have taken place in England toward the end of the nineteenth century, with a Liberal Government in power, too! For it was a Liberal Government, with a big majority, that ruled this country from 1880 to 1885, when Bradlaugh, the Freethinker, sought admission to the House of Commons, and Gladstone was Prime Minister.

Let us recall the facts.

In 1880—a year of triumphant Liberalism—Charles Bradlaugh, after twelve years of unsuccessful candidature, was elected M.P. for Northampton. A Radical and a Freethinker, an avowed disbeliever in the Christian religion, he desired, naturally, to sit in the House of Commons without making that public profession of Christian belief which taking the oath involved. At the same time he was a man with the greatest respect for law and order, and would by all means if it were possible proceed in constitutional fashion. But his election had aroused the passions and prejudices of those who scent ruin and disaster to the country in every extension of political liberty, and will contend to the last against any removal of political disabilities. A select committee sat on Bradlaugh's case, and decided that he could not take the oath, and then the House declared by 275 votes to 230 that he must not be allowed to affirm. At the same time the House agreed by 303 to 249 that Mr. Bradlaugh might affirm at his legal peril.

Thereupon Bradlaugh promptly affirmed and took his seat, only to be served with a writ, which was followed by the judgment of the High Court that he was not qualified to affirm! So the first year of the struggle passed, and Bradlaugh, being no longer M.P., according to the judgment, turned to his constituents in Northampton, and they at once re-elected him. This time, 1881, Bradlaugh decided that he would take the oath, but the House of Commons (with its Liberal majority) decided, by 208 to 175, he must on no account do this. The Government, however, assured him it was about to bring in an Affirmation Bill for his relief, and Bradlaugh waited. Nevertheless, the Bill was not brought in owing to the obstructive methods of opponents; instead, a resolution was passed excluding Bradlaugh from the House.

Militant Methods

So far constitutional methods had failed. Another line of advance must be taken. On August 3 Bradlaugh determined to enter the House of Commons, despite the resolution of exclusion. He was the duly elected member for Northampton, the Government professed to be friendly, he would, at all costs, take his seat. So he forced his way in, to be cast out by sheer force after a fierce struggle, for Bradlaugh was a man of giant strength, and only by the combined efforts of ten policemen and four messengers was he forcibly ejected. The House of Commons—shocked and distressed—allowed the expulsion without protest, and *Punch* appeared with a notorious cartoon, "Kicked out!"

Bradlaugh, in fact, with his agitation for a seat, had become a nuisance to "respectable" people, and the Press and members of Parliament generally said they had had enough of it. What business had Bradlaugh to be a Freethinker? And why couldn't he behave with due propriety? His attempt at a forcible entry alienated the sympathy of all who had done nothing to remove the injustice of his exclusion.

At the beginning of the new Session of 1882 Bradlaugh once more presented himself, and once more the House of Commons (with its Liberal majority) decided by 286 to 228 that he be not allowed to swear. Upon Bradlaugh taking his seat, in spite of this resolution, his complete expulsion from the House was moved, and this was carried by 297 to 80.

His seat being declared vacant, Northampton at once re-elected Bradlaugh.

So it went on for five weary years, the Law Courts declaring that Bradlaugh could not take the oath, and therefore could not sit, and yet acknowledging that he was the duly elected M.P. for Northampton: Gladstone always saying that an Affirmation Bill ought to be brought in for the relief of Freethinkers; the House of Commons always obstructing the introduction of such a Bill, and steadily voting for Bradlaugh's exclusion.

A "Free" Vote

The personal feeling of the Prime Minister (who, stout Church of England man that he was, would be no party to excluding a member on grounds of religious opinion) was not strong enough to induce his followers to do justice, for in those days private members dared to go their own way, let Mr. Gladstone plead never so eloquently.

The Irish Party were conspicuous in their anti-Bradlaugh attitude, and resisted strenuously the right of the electors of Northampton to exercise that very self-government which Home Rulers then, as now, demanded so persistently for Ireland.

Lord Randolph Churchill, too, was ever in the front of the anti-Bradlaugh brigade. But at least Lord Randolph made no pretensions to Liberalism.

And how did it all end?

The Liberal Government, defeated in the summer of 1885, resigned, and a Conservative Ministry took office. When Parliament met in January, 1886, the new Speaker (Mr. Peel) at once allowed Bradlaugh to take the oath in the usual manner, and would permit no interference.

And so it was all over, and the battle won.

Two years later, Bradlaugh himself introduced an Affirmation Bill, which passed into law that session. And henceforth no man elected to the House of Commons could be shut out for his religious (or non-religious) opinions. With the opening of every fresh Parliament, large numbers of members avail themselves of that Act, and make their affirmation.

Five years in all did Bradlaugh sit in the House of Commons, and during that time he won the respect of all parties in the House. None of the woeful prophecies of evil were fulfilled; the Christian religion was not banished from the kingdom; and the Freethinker, upon whom the Press and members of Parliament had heaped every abuse, turned out to be an earnest, honest, and eminently useful legislator.

But the long battle against heavy odds had sapped the strength of the once notorious champion of Freethought; and in January, 1891, Bradlaugh lay dying. Then it was that the House of Commons recognised to the full that it had behaved very badly in its treatment of Bradlaugh's right to sit in Parliament, and the old resolutions of expulsion were expunged. The House of Commons in 1891 had a Conservative majority, and Bradlaugh was a consistent Radical till his death, but that did not prevent the tardy acknowledgment that a wrong had been committed.

The Present Crisis—A Parallel

It was not for himself alone that Bradlaugh fought, but for all who without belief in Christianity are yet willing to serve the State. He made it impossible for anyone henceforth to be excluded for holding unpopular opinions; so that already the story of his struggle seems to belong to a remote past, for no one dreams to-day of imposing any test of orthodoxy on members of Parliament. Indeed, Charles Bradlaugh's stalwart henchman in the old Freethought campaign, Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P., actually holds office in the present Liberal Government as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, and is a member of the very Government which has treated the demand of women for political enfranchisement even more grossly, and with a not less flagrant disregard for justice, than did the Liberal Government treat Bradlaugh's demand from 1880 to 1885.

The whirligig of time brings in strange revenges. Before Bradlaugh died tributes of respect came to him from all sides, and from many who had done their worst to thwart his political career.

Does anyone doubt that many in Parliament, or without, who have withstood the claim of Votes for Women, and reviled the foremost of those who press the claim, will not come to repentance? Or that a House of Commons can, for all time, refuse to do justice? Even now there is a sense of shame in the House at the way this Government and its supporters have behaved over the question of Women's Suffrage.

Must the women wait, as Bradlaugh waited, till Conservatives have displaced a Liberal Government before justice can be done? Can Liberals learn nothing from that resolution of January 27, 1891?

THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

During the past week all other topics of the day have sunk into insignificance compared with the engrossing subject of Votes for Women. And for several days to come the question of women's emancipation will be discussed from end to end of the country by the man in the street, by the worker in field or factory, by the lounger in the club, and not least by the woman in the home. The most ignorant, the most apathetic, will be stirred to interest, while masses of people will await with deep excitement the result of the voting in the House of Commons upon the amendments to the Franchise Bill.

The complete dominance over the political world of the question of Votes for Women is in itself an immense triumph for the Woman's Movement. A very few years ago such a position of affairs would have been almost unimaginable. In vain have the authorities barred the precincts of the House of Commons to women, for Parliament is haunted by the spirit of awakened womanhood. What has brought our Movement to this position of influence? The great individual sacrifices made by many hundreds of women, multiplied by the ceaseless manifold individual services of tens and hundreds of thousands. The woman who has endured imprisonment, the man who has given up the promise of a political or business career, the girl who has sold papers in the street, the worker who has contributed her substance, the society queen who has guided the conversation at the dinner-table to this subject, and has bravely confessed her faith, and all who have rendered the simplest and humblest service day by day to the cause of women's emancipation, have helped to bring about this miracle and to ensure the triumph of the most significant and most far-reaching of all intellectual revolutions.

It is not the Woman's Cause that is being judged in the House of Commons next Monday and Tuesday, nor is it the fate of this Movement that is then being settled. It is the members of Parliament who are being judged, together with the men whose representatives they are. It is the fate of the Liberal Party that is being settled. Nothing can stem the advancing tide of an awakened vigilant and militant womanhood. Nothing but weakness, or sloth or failure in the ranks of the Movement can prevent the speedy complete enfranchisement and emancipation of women

Militancy has given moral and spiritual enfranchisement to women already—enfranchisement, of which the vote itself is but the necessary and inevitable symbol. Therefore, with joy and hope, with perfect calm and indomitable purpose, we face whatever the future may hold.

The present moment of intense crisis and correspondingly intense public interest offers a unique opportunity for the members of the Votes for Women Fellowship to secure wider support for our Movement and new readers for our Paper. People who have never wanted to be troubled with the matter would be ready to take Votes for Women and to read it now if it were brought to their knowledge and attention.

There is a public method and a personal method of attracting the interest of those who are just awakening to the sense of the significance of the Woman's Movement, and of thereby gaining new readers.

1. The display of our very noticeable posters in all the populous and important thoroughfares is the best public advertisement possible. This costs money. It does not cost very much personal service. But where the best gift of all—personal service—is for any reason impossible, we must be thankful that money (which is stored-up human labour) is available as a substitute.

Our charming purple, white, and green posters decorate many colourless newspaper stalls upon the main highways of London and other cities. They suddenly smile down upon the traveller from many a smoke-begrimed station wall. But very much more remains to be done in this direction before the eyes of the whole population have been reached. *And so we want money.* We want special contributions for the display of our posters everywhere *now*.

2. Even more important than money is work. Great is the need for personal canvassers. Let every reader of this column become a voluntary advertising agent. Let it be the Sunday morning dream of every new week to get one more member for the Fellowship or one more regular reader for the Paper. Subscription forms can be obtained for the asking from Votes for Women Office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., or the Paper can be ordered direct from any local newsagent through the country.

This week extra special help is wanted. It is of utmost importance to have the Paper on Sale in the neighbourhood of Westminster when the women's amendments to the Franchise Bill are being discussed. In order to effect a continuous sale of the Paper on Friday, the 24th, and on Monday, the 27th, many volunteers for paper selling are urgently needed. Will those who are able to help communicate with me by letter or telephone immediately? Papers for sale can be obtained from local newsagents, from the Votes for Women Office, or from the International Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, W.C.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE WORKING WOMEN'S DEPUTATION

To Mr. Lloyd George

WORKING WOMEN'S
DEPUTATION
DEMANDS
EQUAL SUFFRAGE

During the next few days hundreds of women will be seen in London wearing a circular badge with these words, printed in purple on a white card. They have come from all parts of the country, and the greater number of them represent the "industrial" occupations in which women are employed, while only a few are professional women (e.g., nurses and teachers).

These women are in London to place the working women's point of view before Mr. Lloyd George and other Ministers, who are receiving representative working women at the Treasury on Thursday morning, January 23, at 10.30 a.m. Out of the hundreds who have volunteered, twenty (to meet the conditions laid down by Mr. Lloyd George) have been chosen to wait on the Ministers. These are, in addition to Mrs. Drummond and Miss Annie Kenney:—

Four Lancashire Cotton Operatives.
Four Sweated Workers.
Two "Pit Brow Lasses."
Two Nurses.
Two Teachers.
One Shop-Assistant.
One Laundress.
One Boot and Shoe Worker.
One Domestic Servant.

From these again, speakers (limited to five minutes each) have been chosen as follows:—

One factory worker, one pit brow worker, one nurse, one teacher, one shop-assistant, and two East End workers (one of whom is a home-worker). Speeches will also be made by Mrs. Drummond and Miss Annie Kenney.

Special arrangements have been made to enable the main body of the delegates to hear first-hand accounts of the deputation. They will assemble in the Horticultural Hall, Vincent Square, Westminster, and in the Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road (one hall not being large enough to hold the hundreds of delegates assembled in London for the occasion), at 8.30 p.m. (doors open at 8). The chosen twenty will report at both meetings what has taken place in the interview with the Ministers, and speeches will be made also by others. The Actresses' Franchise League will give an entertainment at the Horticultural Hall from 8—8.30.

A Women's Conference

As many delegates as possible will remain in London until the debate in the House of Commons on the women's amendments to the Franchise Bill is at an end. Halls have been taken for meetings, so that the delegates may watch the progress of the debates hour by hour. On Monday evening the meeting will be in the Holborn Hall; on Tuesday evening, in view of the importance of that day's debate, a great mass meeting will take place in the Horticultural Hall, and the Essex Hall has been taken for Wednesday and Thursday evenings (January 29 and 30). All these meetings are for women only. The space will be mainly reserved for the delegates, but some seats will be available for members of the public. On Thursday, January 23, admission is quite free to both meetings, and no tickets are required. On Monday, 8 p.m., unreserved tickets, 1s. each, may be obtained, and there are a few free seats (no tickets required). On Tuesday (meeting beginning at 6.45 p.m., doors open 6.15) a limited number of seats, numbered and reserved, are available at 2s. 6d., unreserved, 1s., and a few seats are free. On Wednesday, the meeting which begins at 6.45 (doors open at 6.15), admission is free; no tickets are required. On Thursday, January 30, 7.30 p.m., the meeting is free, without ticket. Application should be made to the Ticket Secretary, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Many of the delegates will drive to these mass meetings in motor vehicles, and in London centres where special campaigns have been in progress, preliminary meetings will be held as a "send off."

FROM A WORKING WOMAN

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—Although I have not the right, strictly speaking, to call myself a working-class woman, I live in a part of Ireland where emigration takes every spare girl from her home, and it is extremely difficult to get outside help. Being obliged in consequence to do my own household work unaided, I have been led to feel a great pity and understanding for those working-class wives and mothers who are compelled to work under almost unbearable conditions; and it seems to me that with a little imagination the highest woman in the land should also be able to realise what the sufferings of these poor women are who are obliged to work in such circumstances.

I suppose most people would define the working woman as one who goes out daily to work for long hours at a low rate of wages. Hard as that woman's case appears, she is almost to be envied when we compare her lot with that of the working woman who remains at home—the household drudge—the family slave. This poor creature is not only to be found in the homes of the very poor, but often in socially higher circles; and I think it is this type of woman who is almost the worst sufferer in life's daily round. The problem of her comfort and relief seems unsolvable, for she is not even considered a worker—she who works through uncounted hours, her day of work having no definite end, her night of rest no definite beginning.

The work—counted nothing, yet vitally necessary to the house and its inmates, if they are to perform their duties—this work, unheeded, unacknowledged, unpaid, is, alike in variety and amount, astonishing. Yet the Drudge-Mother gets through it all under difficulties to which there is none to compare in any trade. In her case, labour-saving machines are not troubled about by her employer; the economy of vital force itself is unconsidered. No wonder that this woman's babies die in greater proportion to the babies of factory women workers; no wonder that maternity, in almost every case, leaves an indelible stamp of injury upon her!

It has been said that for a wife to receive wages would be to destroy the honourable partnership of marriage as at present recognised—that by taking a salary a wife would become a hireling, sacrificing her position of partner, while her husband would assume the position of employer. The Drudge-Mother is in no position of honour now; her position is no more honourable than that of a slave. To be acknowledged even as a hireling, and to receive remuneration, would at least secure her some recognition of her labour, and this would bring her more "protection" and "honour" than she often gets as a wife. When all is said, it amounts to this—that a man gets a great deal done very cheaply, and the person who said that a wife was "a necessity and not a luxury" was speaking from a man's point of view.

Why is a wife a necessity? Simply because she is the only person in the world who will accomplish so much for so little. The State does not protect her, partly because it fears the social revolution it supposes would be caused, and partly because the State, as now constituted, does not include women. It therefore accepts the convenient doctrine that someone must be sacrificed in almost every house in the land.

But this sacrifice costs more than the State evidently has the intelligence to perceive, for as long as women lead this life of "necessary" drudgery, still-born babies and mentally deficient children will be the result. The Drudge-Mother has not the time or opportunity to have a healthy baby, and it is not her fault that, whatever kind of baby she does manage to bring into the world, she cannot give it the care and attention it should have. Women alone know that to give a young baby the attention it *ought* to have is a sufficient day's work for one woman. Its cleanliness, its food, sleeping, washing, drying, and airing, are all branches of skilled work in themselves; a baby is a force to be reckoned with, a very "mighty atom."

How often does the working-girl realise what marriage means to girls of her class, and that, when she marries, she will be the labour-saving machine imported into the home for the purpose of getting through the professional work of a Jack-of-all-trades — washerwoman, ironer, mender, dressmaker, cook, nurse, charwoman, *and* mother?

At present, marriage for the working-class woman is based neither upon a businesslike nor a romantic footing. It is because working-women, like myself, would like to preserve the romantic aspect of marriage in every rank of society that we are anxious to see married women of every class placed on an equality with their husbands—on a business footing, if you like to put it that way! And I do not think this little revolution in the home will ever be effected until women are put upon an equality with men in political life.—Yours faithfully,

(Mrs.) Frances Elliott.

TREATMENT OF MILITANT WOMEN

FORCIBLE FEEDING

In the House of Commons on Thursday, January 16, Sir William Byles asked the Home Secretary whether any alternative to forcible feeding has been considered by the prison authorities as a suitable method of dealing with prisoners who refuse to take their food?

Mr. McKenna: Every means of persuasion has been used in these cases. When persuasion fails I know of no way of keeping the prisoners alive but forcible feeding. I should be glad if there were any practical alternative.

Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary: When the sentences of the two women prisoners who are being forcibly fed in Holloway Prison expire, and whether, in view of the sufferings which they have already undergone, he will recommend the remission of the remainder of the sentences and order their immediate release?

Mr. McKenna: One of these prisoners was released on Tuesday on payment of a proportion of the fine imposed on her; the other could similarly secure her release, but, in any case, her sentence expires to-morrow. I do not propose to advise any interference in the case.

MISS BILLINGHURST

Miss Billinghurst, sentenced on January 9 to eight months' imprisonment as the result of her militant action, was released last Saturday afternoon, after enduring ten days of almost incredible suffering. From the day she was sent to prison she refused all food, in accordance with the statement made by her to the jury that she would "adopt the hunger strike as a protest against imprisonment being given to women instead of the justice they demand." On Saturday, January 11, she suffered from sickness and bleeding from the nose, and in trying to reach the bell in her cell she fell and fainted. The next morning, Sunday, two doctors tried to feed her from a cup. She says:—

"I clung to the bed and resisted. They desisted. On Monday morning they felt my pulse, and in the afternoon Dr. —— and two strange doctors came. They examined me all over and lectured me. They went out and conferred. Dr. —— and another doctor came back with several wardresses. They forced a tube up my nostril; it was frightful agony, as my nostril is small. I coughed it up so that it didn't go down my throat. They then were going to try the other nostril, which, I believe, is a little deformed. They forced my mouth open with an iron instrument, and poured some food into my mouth. They pinched my nose and throat to make me swallow."

The torture was resumed on Tuesday morning. Miss Billinghurst says:—

"Dr. —— and a prison doctor came in with wardresses. He held me down on the bed. He took the iron instrument and forced my mouth open, knocking a piece off my tooth. He gagged my mouth while the food was poured in from a feeding cup by one of the wardresses. I coughed up a lot, and made a mess over my bed."

An Unequal Struggle

Eight people, it appears (three doctors and five wardresses) struggled with this delicate little woman! For several days Miss Billinghurst was fed by force three times every twenty-four hours. On Thursday in last week she wrote:—

"I feel very weak and dizzy, and my digestion [!] is much upset. Dr. —— is cruel and merciless. The instrument used has a fine point, which is inserted into the teeth, and then the mouth is severed open. Dr. ——does it very roughly and brutally."

The editor of the *Christian Commonwealth*, Mr. Albert Dawson, says in the course of an admirable article on Miss Billinghurst's case:—

"The men who lived in Athens five hundred years before the Christian era would never have demeaned themselves by perpetrating such atrocities. Whatever course we adopt, do—in the name of whatever shred of manhood we may have left—let us be consistent. The alleged purpose of forcible feeding is to prevent the prisoner from determining her sentence. Therefore, one thing that must not be done is, first, to try to force nourishment down the gullet of a resisting prisoner, and then to release her before the expiration of her sentence. Otherwise, obviously, the process becomes 'torture' pure and simple, naked and confessed; the pretence that the object is to protect the prisoner against herself being abandoned. . . . The 'authorities' are much too cowardly to continue until their hellish work reaches its natural conclusion in the death of the victim; so on Saturday afternoon, when Miss Billinghurst is in extremis—just in the nick of time, as they think, to save their reputation—they hurry her out of prison, the wasted, quivering body is reverently carried to the home of loving friends, and is now being tenderly nursed. I will add no more—I need not—except to say that if ever the curse of God fell upon any creature surely it would rest upon the men who are responsible for the torture of women."

THE LLANYSTUMDWY CASE

We referred briefly last week to the second prosecution arising out of the disgraceful treatment of Suffragettes when Mr. Lloyd George opened the Institute at Llanystumdwy, on September 21. The case was heard at the Pwllheli Police Court on Wednesday, January 15, when Colonel D. Lloyd Evans presided over a full bench. Owen Williams, a labourer, of Penmorfa, was charged with an aggravated assault upon Miss Elizabeth Jordan. He pleaded not guilty. Mr. S. R. Dew appeared for the police to prosecute, and Mr. J. Jones Morris represented the defendant.

Miss Jordan said she was a member of the W.S.P.U.; she attended the Llanystumdwy meeting on her own account. Mr. S. R. Dew prosecuting for the police, suggested that the Chancellor was the chief feature of the meeting, but Miss Jordan replied, "I should have said that the Suffragists were the chief feature." (Laughter.) Continuing, Miss Jordan said that whilst Mr. Lloyd George was speaking, she shouted "Forty days and forty nights Mrs. Leigh has been in torment, and you are responsible." The crowd thereupon set upon her. She was taken by the police through the enclosure of the institute to the main road, where the hooliganism of the crowd continued. She was repeatedly struck in the face, a "man" bit her in the wrist, her tie was pulled so tightly that she was nearly throttled, and eventually she fainted. Her hair was also pulled. She was very much bruised, and she suffered from the ill-effects of the treatment for about a fortnight. The fact of her hair being over her face made it impossible for her to identify anybody in the crowd.

Evidence of Assault

P.C. William Owen said he brought the complainant through a dense crowd to the main road. She was being knocked and kicked from behind, and fainted in his arms. Witness could not, however, identify the defendant as being present in the crowd. A Portmadoc man, named Ivor Williams, said he saw a woman being ill-treated, and saw also a man, named William Jones, arguing with the woman's assailant.

William Jones recognised Miss Jordan as the woman who was being ill-treated by the crowd, blows being delivered in her face and her clothes dragged. He saw the defendant strike her in the face. Witness remonstrated with him, and struck him once or twice, and in return the defendant struck witness from behind.

Defendant, who was described as suffering from heart disease, denied seeing any woman ill-treated, or attempting to strike any woman. He heard the crowd shouting in favour of putting a lady under the pump. When he put out his hands to protect two little girls from getting under the crowd, he received two blows from William Jones. He denied that he was even remonstrated with by Jones, who, he said, was in a highly excited state.

For the defence, it was submitted that, were it not for the peculiar circumstances prevailing at Llanystumdwy, nothing would have been heard of an aggravated assault. It was quite impossible for the police to identify anybody under the circumstances, and he appealed to the court not to convict on the uncorroborated evidence of one witness. After an absence of five minutes, the Bench dismissed the case.

THE PRESS ON MILITANT ACTION

It has not escaped comment in political circles that information as to the significance of the situation is being conveyed to the militant ladies by a junior member of the Government.—**Times (Parliamentary Correspondent).**

We can imagine no situation where the right thing can be done with less risk than on the Government Franchise Bill. . . . Compare this with the position if suffrage should be defeated, and especially if it should be defeated by the aid of Irish votes. The women would rightly refuse to listen to any more excuses. They would expect nothing more from the present Parliament. They would be roused to angry and bitter hostility, and the full force of the suffrage movement would be flung against a Government that denies political justice to women.—**Daily Citizen**

EMINENT MEN ON THE CRISIS

Mr. Israel Zangwill, in the course of a letter which appeared in the *Westminster Gazette* on January 16, wrote as follows: —

"Even though politicians have so far enlarged their souls as to desire Woman Suffrage, they still desire it only in proportion as they expect the votes of the majority of the new electorate. Both give up to party what was meant for womankind. . . . But between the two stools of party woman falls to the ground. The matter is the more serious inasmuch as the Liberal Party proposes, with a liberality which, while no contradiction of its principles, is certainly no detriment to its prospects, to enfranchise practically every adult male. And in a week or two we may see one whole sex enfranchised and not a single member of the other, however propertied or however distinguished. And for the first reform there is practically no demand, either from the unenfranchised or from the country, while for 'Votes for Women' there is a demand of a vehemence and a persistence unparalleled in English history. . . . If the House of Commons once more throws over Woman Suffrage, so much the worse for the House of Commons. A machine that can only do party work needs scrapping far more urgently than the House of Lords. And of both Houses Mr. Asquith will have proved the destroying angel."

Sir Frederick Pollock, writing to the *Times* on January 20, gave the following reasons among others for supporting Sir Edward Grey's amendment: —

"A large number of working women, earning their living under competitive conditions and in presence of men's trade unions, desire the franchise as being the only effectual means of protecting their own interests. The reasonableness of this desire is not affected by the fact that other women who need not earn their living, or who earn it under pleasanter conditions, do not ask for votes; nor, on the other hand, because some women, not having authority to represent working women or any women as a body, have lost patience and resorted to illegal violence.

"It is said that women are not fit to vote. Under the old conditions of Parliamentary elections voting was not fit for women, or often for peaceable and sober men either. These conditions are extinct, and, in fact, women do vote in many English-speaking communities without any trouble or scandal. As for the franchise distracting women from their proper business, it has not been observed to have any such effect on male voters.

"It is said that female suffrage is revolutionary. There has not been any revolution in the communities where it exists. What consequences can be traced to it appear to be good and in no way extreme.

"Women, it is said, must not vote because they cannot fight. As well say that men should not vote because they cannot bear children. It takes both men and women to make an efficient people or any people at all."

Mr. Henry W. Nevinson, after calling upon Liberals to be true to the root principles of Liberalism, also spoke strongly to Irish Nationalists in a letter to the *Westminster Gazette* of January 20, saying: —

"Their claim to Home Rule rests upon the very principles of self-government which it is rumoured they purpose denying to English women. . . . No matter how strongly we have stood for Home Rule in the days of its adversity, we at all events whose first object, if the Women's Amendments to the Franchise Bill are defeated, will be to overthrow the present Government—we shall not give much thought to the chance of preserving a measure which Irish members will have conspired to maintain by such despicable means. . . .

"Leaving party politics for a moment, I would appeal to all Englishmen, but especially to all members of Parliament, with whom the decision now rests, to heal this open and aggravated wound before the inevitable blood-poisoning within our community grows worse. There has already been violence on both sides. On the women's side it has been the violence which Mr. Gladstone called the certain result of misgovernment. Their violence, as George Meredith said, has arisen from their sense of their claim's justice, and their indignation at its neglect. In the next few days the House of Commons has an opportunity of wiping off an intolerable slight put upon the women of this kingdom, and if they throw away that opportunity I do not see how, in the contest that will certainly follow, the Liberal Party will be able to fight on Liberal principles at all. For it will have spiked its own guns."

Mr. William de Morgan, in the course of a letter to the Press last Wednesday, writes: —"A flagrant injustice due to the exclusion of women from the electorate has, to my thinking, received less attention than it deserves. I refer to men's justification of a monopoly of legislation on the ground that military service falls solely on them. Man, in England, boasts, somewhat loudly, of his superiority in this respect. But he won't submit to conscription. . . . At least let the wives and mothers of the proposed corpses in the next war have a voice in national decisions that relate to it! Let them have their say in a system which bids fair —if the Devil breaks loose again in Europe, and I don't trust him!—to send their husbands and sons to be shot down like a battue of pheasants."

THE ANTI-SUFFRAGIST COMEDY

Lord Curzon, fresh from opening the doors of the Royal Geographical Society to women, stood upon the Queen's Hall platform, last Monday evening, in order to help in keeping the door of the polling booth closed to them. His opening speech, which contained nothing new in the way of argument, was followed by a depreciation of women from Mr. Hobhouse, M.P., who thought that women had not proved that they were capable "either of governing themselves or the country. The White Slave Bill had been passed not because woman was less moral than man, but because she was infinitely more feeble. How they were to carry out what he was pleased to call their "proper duties" (i.e., "the education, nurture, and care of the child, the succour of the sick and helpless, the teaching of morality and religion") without having a voice in the Government which passes Insurance, Children's, and Education Acts, Mr. Hobhouse did not attempt to explain.

Sir Edward Clarke supported the last speaker, saying that women were much less educated than men. "It was not their fault," he was kind enough to add. He also admitted that the present electorate was not so well educated as it might be, but that was why he did not "want to dilute it by a less educated body."

"Raw Material for Men"

Mrs. Humphry Ward made the amazing statement that to enfranchise women equally with men was "to create a kind of inferior political unit, the main function of which would be to serve as raw material to the political purposes of men." It seems a pity that so able a woman as Mrs. Humphry Ward should not enlarge her experience of political women by entering the ranks of the Suffragists. As a progressive reformer, she also took up a curious position in asking to be shown "another England, with England's vast powers and responsibilities, governed by a majority of women voters," when she would discuss the possibility of giving votes to women, not before!

The anti-suffragists held their demonstration last night, but with all respect to Lord Curzon and Mr. Hobhouse we question whether their eloquence can at this stage affect the decision of Parliament. It would tax the greatest wit to invent a new argument, and the old arguments have long been digested. Those who oppose woman suffrage must appear even to themselves to be fighting for a lost cause. The most they can hope for is to inflict a temporary check; but, with the ebb and flood of tides, the great stream of human progress is against them. It is not easy to see how the present House of Commons can inflict a check upon woman suffrage. The majority of its members stand committed to the principle and they will have an opportunity when voting upon Sir Edward Grey's amendment to pronounce upon the abstract principle. How can a majority so committed fail to take the first step?—**Daily News, Jan. 21.**

The anti-suffrage demonstration was a poor, tame affair, and we cannot imagine that any living person will be influenced by the "arguments" of Lord Curzon and Mr. Hobhouse. Their speeches were lifeless and their cause was dead.—**Daily Citizen.**

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

On Wednesday afternoon Mr. Hunt asked the Prime Minister whether, in view of the magnitude of the Constitutional change involved in the granting of women's franchise, he could see his way to allowing the amendments on the Franchise Bill on the question of votes for women to be freely debated without either closure or guillotine.

Mr. Asquith: "I do not see my way to accede to the hon. member's suggestion. Adequate time will, I hope, be allowed for the discussion of the subject."

Mr. Hunt: May I ask whether, in view of the fact that the Prime Minister has described the granting of votes to women as a disaster to the country——

At this point loud cries of "Order!" were raised from all parts of the House. Mr. Hunt remained on his feet, and shouted excitedly: "Traitor! Traitor! Traitor to his country!" His voice rose above the uproar, and he did not resume his seat for some moments.

DEMAND FOR A GOVERNMENT MEASURE

Important Resolution of the New Federation of Suffrage Societies

An important step was taken by the newly-formed Federated Council of Woman Suffrage Societies at a meeting held on Friday, January 17, when the following resolution was passed unanimously: —

"In the event of the women's amendments to the Franchise Bill now before the House of Commons failing to pass into law, this Council shall take for its basis as a common policy the demand for a Government measure."

This important decision, pledging each and all of the federated societies to a strong, united political action, has been arrived at after careful deliberation extending over two months, and after the resolution then passed had been confirmed by the executives of each of the Societies concerned.

The Societies that have given in their decision for the policy embodied in the resolution are the following:—The Actresses's Franchise League, the Catholic Woman's Suffrage Society, The Free Church League for Woman's Suffrage, the Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, the Irish League for Woman's Suffrage, the Men's Federation for Woman's Suffrage, the National Political League, the New Constitutional Society for Woman's Suffrage, the Petersfield Woman's Suffrage Society, Women's Tax Resistance League, West Essex Woman's Franchise Society, Hastings and St. Leonards Woman's Suffrage Propaganda League, Saffron Walden and District Suffrage Society, and the Women Writers' League.

The London Graduates Union for Women's Suffrage had not been able to call a meeting of its members, and hence its decision is deferred. The executive of the Men's League for Woman's Suffrage also has not yet discussed the resolution of the Council. It is hoped that both these will come into line.

Among the deliberative members who have been admitted to the Council without voting power are the Countess Brassey, Mrs. Boulnois (Conservative and Unionist), Mrs. Herbert Cohen (Jewish Society), Miss Alice Clark (Friends' League), and Miss Wilson (Fabian Society).

A CANADIAN VIEW

An appeal issued by Miss F. M. Denison, President of the Canadian Suffrage Association, contains the following passage:—

"Australia and New Zealand have proved that only good results have followed the enfranchisement of women, and at this serious crisis in England, when women have been driven to such extreme measures, it would meet with the approval of all civilisation to stop these militant tactics in the only way possible to stop them, by giving women the ballot on the same terms as men."

MLLE. DENIZARD WARNS FRANCE

Mlle. Denizard, who on January 17 so pluckily stood for the Presidency of the French Republic, simply in order to bring the question of Woman Suffrage before the public, concluded her "Profession of Faith" to the Senators and Deputies as follows:—

"Sirs, the interests of the family and of the French nation demand this electoral reform, based on this principle of equality —that every individual of either sex who pays taxes has the right to establish them and control the use of these taxes. This right cannot be denied except 'by tyranny and violence.' . . . This plan of electoral reform in favour of Frenchwomen has in its application a real and obvious superiority over primitive plans, in that it rests upon the national tradition of liberty and progress. Instead of having to be given by successive steps, which would provoke disorder, it presents an immediate and definite solution, and at the same time one that is just and equitable, which will prevent France from knowing the troubled hours which the suffragettes are causing in England."

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WOMEN GEOGRAPHERS

At a special meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, held in the theatre of Burlington House on January 15, a resolution rendering women eligible for election as Fellows of the Society was passed by 130 to 51. The previous canvass by referendum had resulted in a favourable vote of 2,189 as against 678, showing that the Society, in a proportion of more than three to one, were in favour of the change. In future, therefore, it will be open to the Society to elect women on the same basis as men—a reversal of the policy of 1893, when the Fellows, at a special meeting, voted against the admission of women, and condemned the Council for having already elected twenty without consulting the Society. Of these twenty women Fellows, fourteen survive, and of these three attended last week's meeting.

Lord Curzon's Inconsistency

Lord Curzon, President of the Society, who moved the resolution from the Chair, evidently felt that his position as an Anti-Suffragist required justification. The admittance of women to the franchise, he said, was a totally different matter; it was a matter of political rights. The case for the admission of women to the Geographical Society was in no respect parallel; it was a question of the concession of intellectual equality in a field where research and science were the aims sought. Probably without intending to be humorous, Lord Curzon mentioned the admittance of women to other learned bodies, from which "no harm resulted," and further confessed that his own views had changed since 1893, when he had led the opposition to the women.

"The Third Sex"

It was found impossible, however, to ignore the question of "political rights." One of the speakers wished to move an amendment for the exclusion of "the third sex"—the militant Suffragists. This was ruled out of order by Lord Curzon, and a subsequent speaker, we are glad to note, pointed out that there were also male militants who, on that ground, would likewise have to be excluded.

Mrs. Bullock Workman, on the grand plateau (21,000 feet high) discovered by her on her 1912 Himalaya Expedition, reading "Votes for Women."—(*The copy in the photograph is that for June 7, 1912, and the cartoon represents the Leaders of the W.S.P.U. demanding First Division Treatment in Prison.*

COMING EVENTS

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will visit Ireland next week, and will address meetings as follows:—

On Tuesday, January 28, meeting in the Sackville Hall, Dublin, at 8 p.m., Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington in the chair. On Wednesday, January 29, a reception in Dublin. On Thursday, January 30, a meeting in the Ulster Hall, Belfast, at 8 p.m. On Friday, January 31, a reception in Belfast. These meetings will also be addressed by Mr. George Lansbury.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage (11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.) will hold its General Council next Wednesday, January 29, in the vestry of St. George's, Bloomsbury. In the evening there is a meeting of the Buckhurst Hill branch at 8 p.m.

In the next performance (postponed from February 2 to 9) of the Pioneer Players, under the direction of Miss Edith Craig, when Miss Cicely Hamilton's play, "A Matter of Money," will be given at the Little Theatre. Miss Sarah Brooke will take the part of Mrs. Coventry, and Mr. J. Moffat Johnston will play that of the husband, Mr. Coventry. Another addition to the cast is Miss Winifred Mayo. The play will be repeated at a special matinée at the same theatre on February 11, at 2.30.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union (Hon. Sec., Mrs. M. E. Davis, 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, Fulham, S.W.) asks us to remind its members that Mr. George Lansbury will speak at Alan's Tea Rooms on February 3, and that handbills may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary.

Mr. Henry D. Harben will preside at the M.P.U. meeting, to be addressed by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, in the Corn Exchange, Oxford, on February 11.

Miss Jane Shortt's sentence was alluded to last week as "six months" instead of "three months."

MISS FLORIEL FLOREAN AT THE BECHSTEIN HALL

The subject of folk music, whether in dance or song or children's game, is so to the front to-day that anyone who can introduce a genuine folk tune of any nation is sure of a welcome in England. Miss Floriel Florean represents the traditional music of the Boer nation, and sings the folk songs of the Taal language. She gave a most interesting recital at the Bechstein Hall this week before a very enthusiastic audience, who recalled her again and again.

Her first song, "Grietji," with its refrain singularly like the German folk song, "Der Mühlrad," completely won the audience, and so did "Gertji," another love song in a lighter vein. But it was in the national and patriotic songs of freedom that we thought Miss Florean at her best, for in the more humorous songs she is lacking in the sense of drama which is needed to make them appreciated, especially when sung in a foreign tongue.

The national songs are very characteristic of a freedom-loving people; they are strong, with a deep rhythm, and have none of that pathos and poignancy which belongs to an oppressed people, and which is so striking in Slavonic music and in the melodies of the plantation songs of South America and in much Celtic music.

We wish Miss Florean, who, by the way, is a member of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, every success in her interpretation of the folk music of her own country.

A WOMAN ADVOCATE

In accordance with the special provision under section 24, sub-section 9, of the Education Act of 1873, which allows parents to authorise another person to represent them in police-court prosecutions, Miss Fairlie Harman has been appearing at Andover Police Court as an amateur advocate with great success. Full reports of the cases which related to school attendance were published in the *Wilts, Berks, and Hants County Paper* on January 24.

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English Breakfast

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE FELLOWSHIP.

I am enclosing a small subscription to the Fellowship Fund, and may I take this opportunity of telling you how really grateful I am for the privilege of being able to keep in touch with you through the Fellowship medium.—(From Roumania.)

I find an extremely good way of increasing the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and so helping to "spread the gospel," is to stand outside the halls where societies in touch with or likely to be sympathetic with the Woman's Movement hold their meetings. One can also sell a few copies outside the queues at theatres where plays which appeal to thoughtful people are being given. I have contrived to sell from three dozen to five dozen copies a week, chiefly at meetings.—("A Seller.")

I like your paper much better now than I did before, firstly because it is independant, and secondly because we get more general news of the Movement. I like to know what other societies are doing.

A Suffragist writes from Paris to describe how she goes about telling people the truth about the militant movement in England. "I go to the Sorbonne," she writes, "and after the lectures are over, I have a good audience, to whom I explain all about forcible feeding, the tearing out of women's hair, their imprisonment, and ill-usage of all kinds. I meet with much sympathy. . . . One of the great professors of the Sorbonne, Monsieur Grevault, Professor of Ancient Egyptian History, is a great feminist; he was horrified at my account. . . . The 'Anti' is dull of comprehension in every land and in every language. I try to explain that there is now civil war in England, duly declared in November, 1911, and that in the meantime no one is responsible for private losses or inconveniences.

"I wish all success to the Fellowship. I cannot offer to do any special work. I am a free-lance, and never miss an opportunity. I tell everyone that I am ashamed to say that I have never been in prison, but I haven't the courage to go there.

"H. K.," who enquires "how it came about that the Cause adopted purple white and green as its colours," is referred to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech at the Earl's Court Exhibition on Saturday, July 25, 1908. Mrs. Lawrence said:—

What do our colours mean? Well, white stands for purity in private and public life. Sometimes when I have been speaking to crowds of people, men especially, in the East End of London, I have been told to go home and do the washing. That is just what women want to do! Other things besides clothing want washing—things in politics, for instance, are far too dirty at present. They need women to go in and clean things up a little bit. Green is the colour of hope and the emblem of spring, and it speaks to us of the new hope that has entered into the world with the woman's movement, and of the spring that has wakened in women's hearts. Purple, as everyone knows, is the royal colour. It stands for the royal blood that runs in the veins of every Suffragette, the instinct for freedom and dignity. In the blood of the anti-Suffragists we suspect there must be some hereditary taint of servility or subjection, which makes them ready to accept the present humiliating position of women in the Constitution of their country.

ST. BRIDE'S DAY.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Your announcement of the Day of Remembrance and Prayer to be kept on St. Bride's Day, February 1, will start thoughts and associations in the minds of many of your readers all over these islands and in America, where Bride's name is also cherished.

Those of us who are looking steadfastly for the breaking of a fuller day, who, with the late Laureate, believe in

> "The larger mind . . .
> The Christ that is to be. . . ."

will be interested to recall the Highlander's favourite name for Bride—Maime Chriosd, the Foster Mother of the Christ, the Mary of the Gael. The beautiful legend in which this name takes its rise is immortalised in Fiona Macleod's "Divine Adventure" and elsewhere. But nowhere has it perhaps been more rarely and tenderly told, with the lilt of an old-world rune about it, than in Seosamh MacCathmhaoil's "Mountainy Singer":

> "By a wondrous mystery
> Christ of Mary's fair body,
> Upon a middle winter's morn,
> Between the tides of night and day,
> In Ara's holy Isle was born.
> Mary went upon her knee,
> Travailing in ecstasy,
> And Brigid, mistress of the birth,
> Full reverently and tenderly
> Laid the child upon the earth.
> Then the dark-eyed rose did blow,
> And rivers leaped from out the snow;
> Earth grew lyrical. . . .
> The shepherd danced, the gilly ran,
> The boatman left his curachan;
> The druid dropped his ogham wand,
> And said, 'Another day's at hand,
> A newer Dawn is in the sky!
> I put my withered sapling by.
> The Druid Christ has taken breath
> To sing the runes of life and death!'"

Yours, &c., A. M. BUCKTON.

THE PRIME MINISTER AT OXFORD.

An Oxford correspondent writes:—

I hear on indubitable authority that the Prime Minister was made, to say the least, exceedingly apprehensive during his recent visit to Oxford. But his alarm was transcended by that of the Master of Balliol (whose dinner guest he was to be) and the Bursar. These two, having watched the Suffragist Poster Parade from the windows of the college, actually ordered all women servants out of the College! Were they afraid that one of them might have been suborned by the redoubtable Suffragettes, or even prove a Suffragette in disguise? After all, the placards had only borne the legend, "Why is Asquith afraid to receive a woman's deputation?"

◆

WOMEN AND WAGES

It is interesting to learn that the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey has just established a minimum wage of 36s. a week for all girls and women in its employ, thus in some cases more than doubling the wages of the employees. This action is the result of an investigation conducted by a welfare committee of the corporation, which made it clear that it was impossible for women and girls to live self-respecting lives unless they were paid not only a living wage, but one that would ensure some of the comforts of life. In announcing this new minimum wage project to the women employees, the chairman of the corporation said that the rise in salaries was not to be considered as a New Year's gift, but as a New Year's right for every woman to be in receipt of a living wage.

Suffragists have not forgotten the strikes of the women shirt waist makers and the women garment workers of Chicago two years ago. The recent strike of women garment workers in New York also represents the first concerted movement of a great army of unorganised workers. The women came out chiefly as a protest against tenement house work and the sub-contract system. They were generously aided by suffragists and social workers, and Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont organised an active bureau of strike relief in connection with the Women's Political League.

◆

"It is we who feel the pinch of small earnings," says the wife of one of the taxi-cab drivers who are on strike in London. "We don't want to live on 'tips' and 'extras.' It is too precarious. We simply cannot afford to give in, for the cost of living is going up, and our income is in danger of going down."

OUR HUMOROUS PRESS

A correspondent whose heart is in the right place complains of the way in which her letters have been treated in the pillar-boxes. They come to her, she says, "smeared all over with Suffragetted hydrogen."—**Punch.**

"Letter-box red" is said to be one of the favourite colours for Paris spring hats. A compliment, no doubt, to Christabel Pankhurst, who is understood to be in the Gay City.—**The Rialto.**

◆

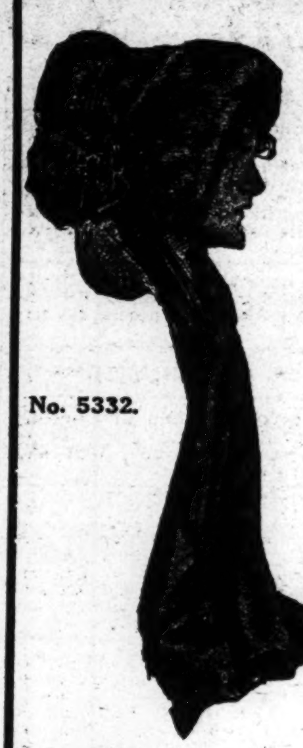
Constance Clyde's clever one-act play, "Mr. Wilkinson's Widow," acted recently by the Actresses' Franchise League at the Lyceum Theatre, appears as a story in *Woman at Home* for February.

An article by Miss Vida Goldstein on "The Effects of Woman's Suffrage in Australia" appears in No. XIV. of *The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review.* (Quarterly.)

The Editor of *the Christian Commonwealth* asks us to announce that Dr. Orchard (Enfield) will contribute a series of Modern Tracts on religion to that organ, to begin on February 5.

◆

A perusal of the illustrated catalogue of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company—which can be obtained post free from 112, Regent Street, London, W.—convinces one that purchasers of Gem Jewellery and Gold and Silver Plate may there obtain the utmost value for their money.—[ADVT.]



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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

"QUI VIVE!"—All in London and suburbs required Caxton Hall evening of January 27.—Please write Secretary, Mrs. Bentinck, 78, Harley Street.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, January 24, Westminster Palace Hotel, 3.30—6.15. Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Miss Buckton (author of "Eagerheart"), Miss Courtney (Hon. Sec. N.U.W.S.S.), Miss Helen Ward.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY MEETING at Caxton Hall, January 27, 8 p.m. Speakers; MR. GEORGE LANSBURY, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, and Mrs. Merivale-Mayer. Chair: Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Admission FREE. Reserved seats 1s.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers (January 29): Mrs. Cobden Sanderson (on The Unmarried Mother) and J. Cameron Grant, Esq. The chair will be taken promptly at 3.30 by Mrs. Mustard. Admission free. Collection.

OXFORD. — MEN'S POLITICAL UNION.—A meeting will be held at the Corn Exchange, Tuesday, February 11, at 8.15 p.m. Chair: Mr. H. D. Harben. Speakers: Mr. George Lansbury, L.C.C., Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence. Tickets may be obtained at Mr. Giles, bookseller, Broad Street. Reserved, 2s. 6d.; unreserved 1s. and 6d.

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FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.)

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HYDE PARK.—Comfortable, Refined Home; gentlewomen; 17s. 6d. to 25s.; day, 4s. 6d. Telephone, Baths, Central.—Miss Simmons, 19, James Street, Westbourne Terrace.

LONDON.—Carlton Private Hotel, 14, Craven Street, Charing Cross; room and breakfast, from 4s.; central; convenient. Tel: 219 Gerrard.

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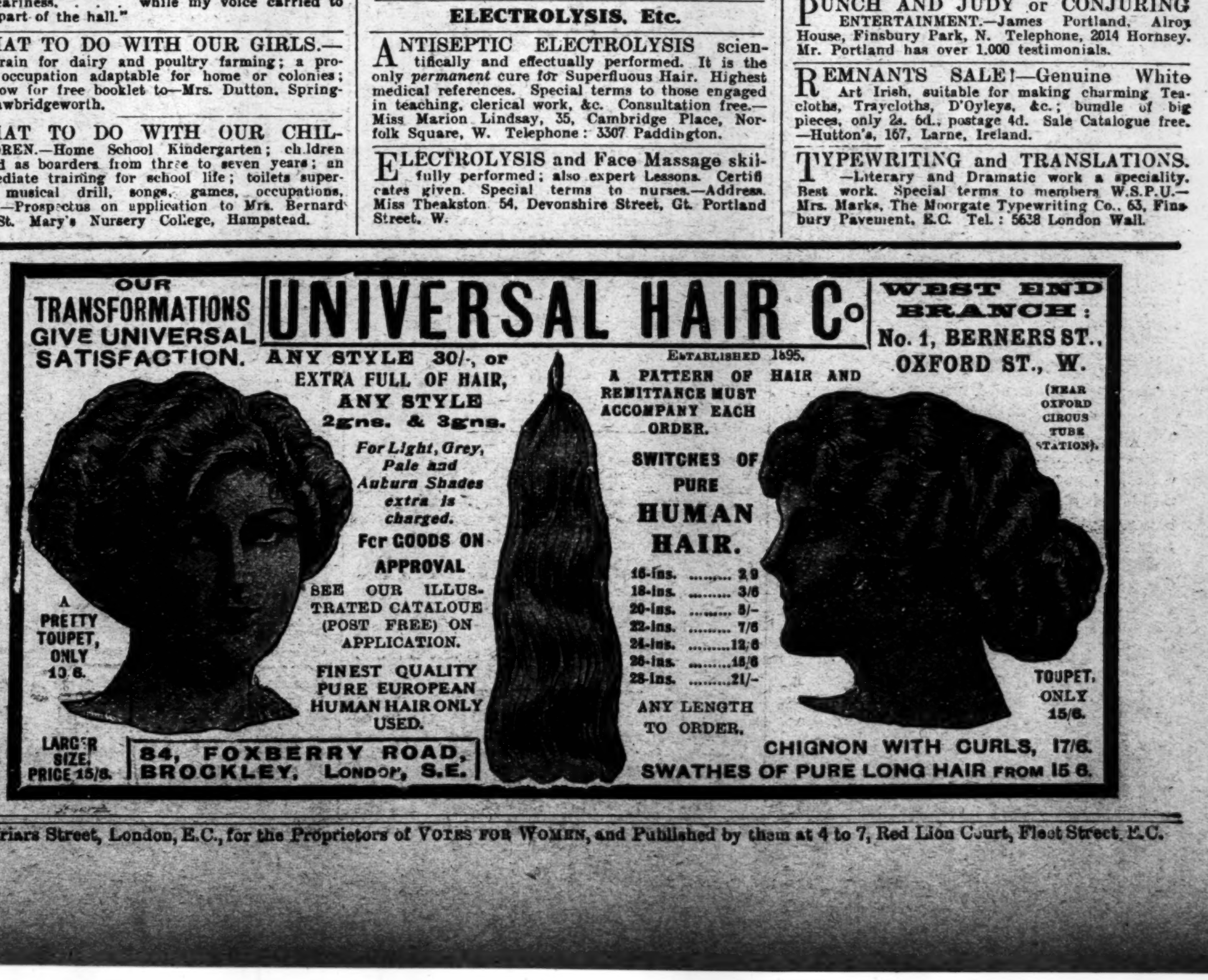

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